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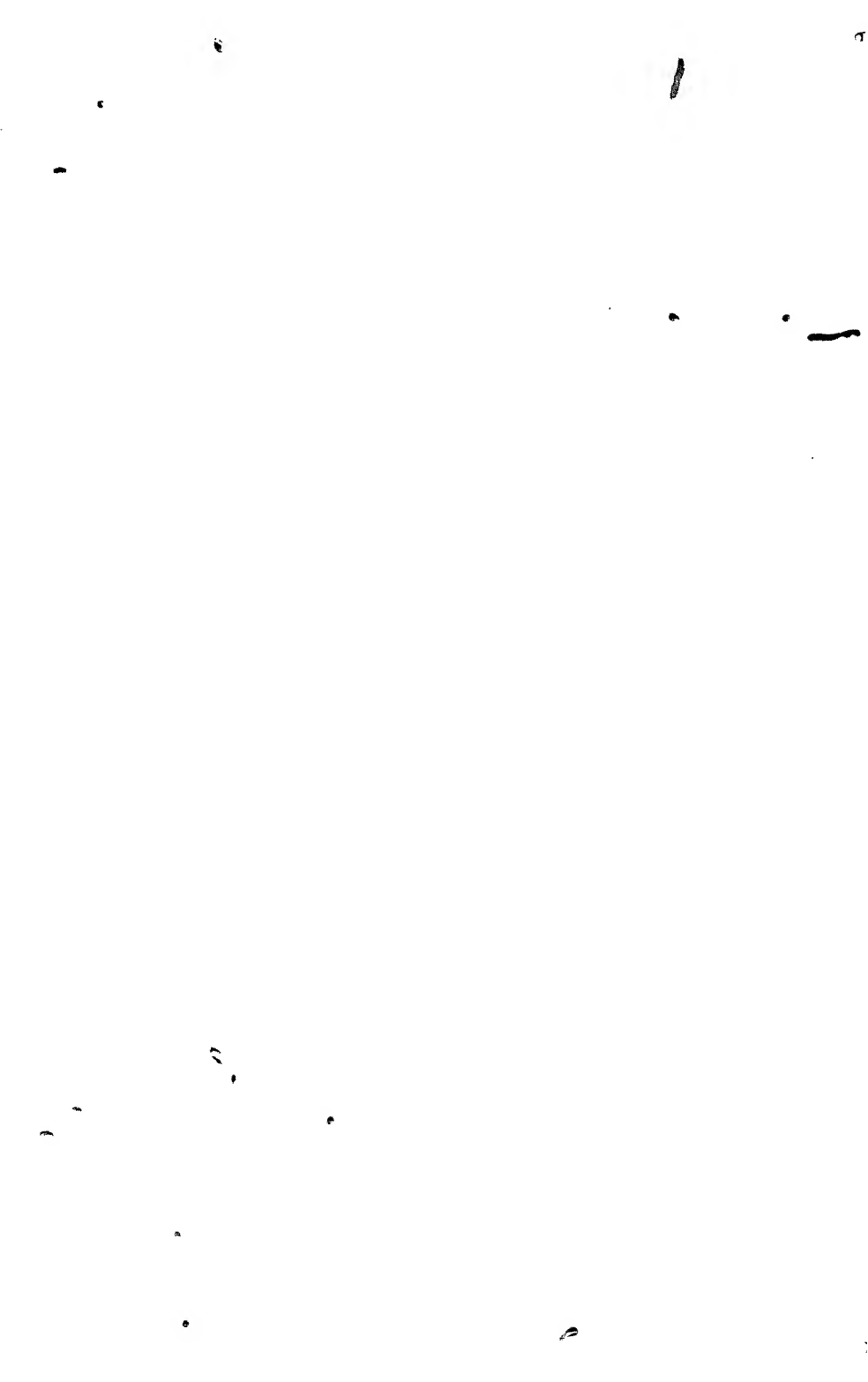
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THE LANGUAGE OF
THE KHAROṢṬHI DOCUMENTS
FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN

by

T. BURROW, M.A.

Research Fellow of Christ's College,
Cambridge

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INTRODUCTION

The documents in the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet, recovered by Sir Aurel Stein from Central Asia, are written in a variety of Indian Prakrit that was used as the administrative language of Shan-Shan or Kroraina in the third century A.D. The texts range over a period of at least eighty-eight years, as is seen from Prof. Rapson's Table of Kings and Regnal Years, *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, pp. 326-8. The date is approximately fixed by a Chinese document, found in the same heap with a number of Kharoṣṭhi tablets, which is dated A.D. 269. Further than this it is not possible to go yet, because none of the kings has been found referred to in Chinese annals. The language of the documents is uniform throughout and there is no trace of evolution from the earliest to the latest.

The bulk of the texts comes from Niya, the ancient Caḍota which lay on the extreme edge of the kingdom bordering on Khotan. For the rest there are a few from Endere (= Sāca) and about forty from the Lou-Lan area where the ancient capital of the kingdom Kroraina was situated. A single document from Endere (661) is written in a different dialect from the rest, and since it refers to a king of Khotan, it may be taken to represent the Prakrit used similarly for administrative purposes in Khotan at that time. (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 430-34.)

For a variety of reasons the language has presented considerable difficulties of interpretation. In the first place it represents a variety of Prakrit not otherwise known; and secondly it contains a large number of non-Indian words from various sources. The general position of the language has already been dealt with in a series of articles ('Iranian Loan-words in the Kharoṣṭhi Documents', I, *B.S.O.S.* VII (1934), 511 ff.; II, *B.S.O.S.* VII (1935), 779 ff.; 'Tocharian Elements in Kharoṣṭhi Documents', *J.R.A.S.* (1935), pp. 667 ff.; and 'The Dialectical Position of the Niya Prakrit', *B.S.O.S.* VIII (1936), 419 ff.). Referring to the full discussions in these papers, it will be sufficient here to indicate the main conclusions arrived at.

The language was used for official purposes in the Shan-Shan kingdom. Its original home was N.W. India, probably in the region of Peshawar. It agrees closely with the (post-Aśokan) Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions from N.W. India and (slightly less closely) with the Prakrit version of the Dhammapada. Further, it exhibits sufficient characteristics in common with the modern Dardic languages to be assigned definitely to that group (*B.S.O.S.* VIII (1936), 434 and Konow, *ib.* 605 ff.). Among the Dardic languages it would seem to be most closely allied to Torwali.

At the same time it differs from all other varieties of Prakrit preserved, in the degree to which its inflectional system has decayed and altered. There is no reason to impute this to the users of the language in Central Asia, because with them it was a stereotyped official language, whereas the phenomena observed are those of normal linguistic change. Moreover, the changes are actually found to occur over the rest of the Indo-Aryan field at a later date. For instance, they have ceased to distinguish between Nominative and Accusative. This became general in Indo-Aryan in the Apabhraṃśa stage. Other phenomena which occur (though less thoroughly) in Apabhraṃśa are the tendency to transfer all nouns to the *a*-declension (§§ 67, 70), extension of *-ī* as the general termination of feminine nouns (§ 74, cf. forms in Ap. (*Bhavisatta-kaha*) like *sampunnī*, *avainnī*, *khittī*, etc.), use of the Locative instead of the Accusative with verbs of going, sending, etc. (§ 123, cf. L. Alsdorff, *Kumārapālaprati-bodha*, Introd. § 43 (1) b).

Especially interesting is the formation of a new active past tense from the past participle passive (§ 105). This has not developed even in Apabhraṃśa, but is common in the modern Indo-Aryan languages (cf. J. Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 276). There is a precisely similar development in Modern Persian.

The question arises whether these tendencies to evolution developed unusually early in the home of this Prakrit (due to foreign invasion, influence), or whether they may not have been more general in India only obscured by the conservative tendencies of the literary Prakrits. We might ask, for instance, that since the Prakrit used by Kālidāsa remained the same for

centuries after his time, to what extent may it not have been artificial and archaic even then? Anyway it is curious that our language, while usually the most conservative in phonetic preservation (*B.S.O.S.* VIII (1936), 422), is at the same time the most advanced of all in inflectional decay.

The dialect that had thus evolved in India is subjected to two kinds of foreign influence: (1) Iranian, (2) the native language of Kroraina.

The Iranian loan-words have been dealt with in my two papers (*B.S.O.S.* VII, 509 ff., 779 ff.). Further examples (discussed in Index) are *anada* 'carefully', *cojhbo* (name of an official), *namamniya*, *parāṣa*, *veḡa sujīnakirta*. They total together some forty or forty-three words, which is quite considerable.

As regards the origin of these Iranian words, there is no reason to assume that they entered the language at the same time and from the same place. In the case of the word meaning 'treasury', for instance, we have two dialect forms *gañja-* (cf. *gañña* and *kañi*) and *ganza-* (cf. *kañjhavaliyana*). A very few words are specifically Saka, namely *anada*, *prahoni*, *lastana*. The title *cojhbo* appears in the Maralbashi dialect of Saka as *cazba*. *jheniḡa* is peculiar to Saka and Sogdian, although the same base appears in N.Pers. *zīn-hār* 'protection, security' and *zindān* 'prison'. If *draṅga* is connected with Avestan *θraxta-*, etc., it shows the typically Saka treatment of *θr-*. *avāna* 'village' occurs in both of the Saka dialects (having lost its initial *a-*), but also in Western Iranian, Arm. *avan*.

On the other hand, the mass of the words might equally well appear in a typically Western Iranian language, e.g. *kākhorda*, *guṣura*, *divira*, *načira*, *tavastaḡa*, *ṣpura*, *veḡa*, *ṣada*, *stora*. Many of them have not, so far at any rate, turned up in Khotanese. *ṣada* 'pleased' definitely cannot be Kh. (*tsāta*), and *guṣura* shows a treatment that is not Khotanese but typical of the eastern part of Iranian. There is some reason to believe that a large number of the words at any rate had been taken into the Prakrit in N.W. India before it came to be used in Central Asia.

(1) Quite a number of the Iranian loan-words here appear also in India in Sanskrit, etc., namely, *sthora*, *gañja*, (*aśva*)*vāra*, *divira*, *draṅga*, *kākhorda*. *saste* 'day' occurs in Kharoṣṭhi in-

scriptions from N.W. India; *namataka* 'felt' is used in Pali. In the case of these words we may be pretty sure that they had become part of the language in India itself.

(2) There are traces of the phonetic developments that occur in the languages of specifically those Iranians who occupied N.W. India in the centuries round about the Christian era. *Gusura* shows the same treatment of initial *vi-* as occurs in the proper name *Gudaphara* (Gondophernes). The change of *d > l* in *lašni* 'gift' is paralleled by royal names in India beginning with *spala-* (= *spāda* 'army'). The same change is observable in *Pushto*, and may have been characteristic of the Iranian-speaking population bordering on N.W. India at quite an early date.

(3) Iranian proper names in the Kharoṣṭhi documents (*B.S.O.S.* VII, 789) are exceedingly rare, so that certainly there was no Iranian population in this kingdom. The solitary Khotan document (661) indicates a different state of affairs for Khotan, but there is no means of ascertaining its relative date. The differences between the two varieties of Prakrit are such that each must have its origin separately in India and not one depend on the other (cf. *B.S.O.S.* VIII (1936), 430 ff.).

We may conclude that the Prakrit already in India had a fair sprinkling of Iranian words, and that in Central Asia a smaller number (*cojhbo*, etc. above) were further introduced.

The second foreign element to which the Prakrit was subjected is the native language of the kingdom. It is represented by a wealth of proper names (over 1000) and about 100 words. Working on the phonetic structure and suffix formation of this material it is possible to demonstrate a strong affinity of this language with 'Tocharian' (Agnean and Kuchean, cf. H. W. Bailey, *B.S.O.S.* VIII (1936), 883-917). This point I have dealt with in detail in *J.R.A.S.* (1935), pp. 667 ff. We may term the language 'Krorainic' after the capital of the kingdom.

The pronunciation of the Prakrit was strongly affected by the phonetic structure of 'Krorainic'. It was devoid of voiced stops, consequently we find writings like *kilane* = *glāna* 'sick', *taṇḍa* = *daṇḍa*, *poḡa* = *bhoḡa*, etc. (§ 14). Similarly it was devoid of aspirates with like effects (§ 24). The solitary document from

Khotan does not show these tendencies, whence we may infer that the language there was of a different type.

Actual word-correspondences in the documents with Agnean and Kucheian are unfortunately few. Among the most certain are:

kilme 'district' = Agnean *kälyme* 'direction, district'.

kitsaitsa, a title (elder?) = Kucheian *ktsaitsaṅe* 'age'.

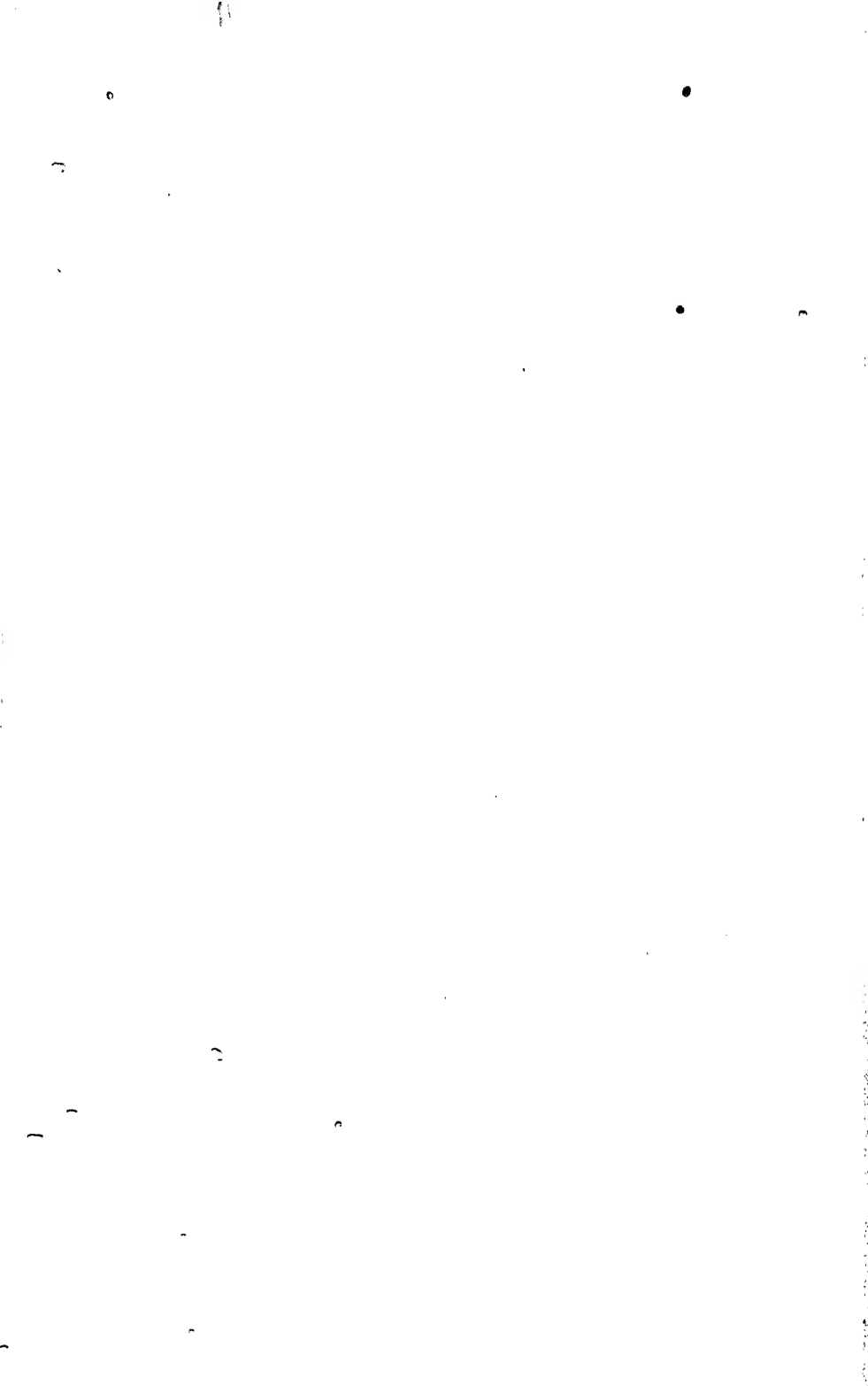
ṣoṭhamga 'tax-collector': Agnean *ṣoṣṭāṅk-*, meaning the same.

amklatsa, epithet of *uṭa* 'camel': Kucheian *aknātse*, Agnean *āknats* 'ignorant', 'inexperienced'.

ṣilpoga (i.e. *ṣilyoga*) 'document': Agnean *ṣlyok* which translates Skt. *śloka*.

Considering the strong evidence (*J.R.A.S.* (1935), pp. 667 ff.) that Krorainic was a language closely akin to Agnean and Kucheian, it is surprising that there are so few obvious etymologies, but it may be due to difference of subject-matter: the texts in those languages are chiefly religious, whereas the Krorainic words in the Prakrit are mostly of a technical nature (official titles, crops and objects of local use, etc.).

Such briefly are the relationships and history of the language of the Niyā documents. The present work is divided into two parts: first, a Grammar of the language; and secondly, a combined Index and Vocabulary, where the forms are referred to the paragraphs of the Grammar so far as they are treated there, while an attempt is made as far as possible to explain the meaning of individual words, with references to the existing literature.



Part I

GRAMMAR

VOWELS

§ 1. There is a slight tendency in the documents for *e* to become *i*: *ajiṣamnae* 419 (usually *ajeṣamnae* = *adhyeṣanayā* 'at the request of'), *ichiyati* 425 (usually *-eyati*), *chitra* = *kṣetra* 160, 255, etc.; *vitamna* 177 = *vetamnā*, but the reading is uncertain. Finally: *niči* = *niče* 'decision', *vaṃti* 'in the presence of' = *upāṃte*, *kiṃna* = *kena* 609, *tina* 532 (*tiṣu* 511). The change was regular in the dialect of Khotan: 661 *saḡaji* = *sakāṣe*, *niravaṣiṣo*, *kali*, *cudiyadi* = *codeyāti*, etc. But in the dialect of Niya the *e* is preserved in the vast majority of cases. In the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.p. instances are common, e.g. *viraneṣu averana* C^{vo} 28, *sarvi*, *wivito*, *etina*, etc. Likewise loan-words in Saka: *ajiṣ* 'to seek', *pracīya-sambuddha-*, *cīya* = *caitya*. It seems to have been a specifically Khotanese change, which had already taken place at the date of no. 661; but it cannot have been very much earlier, because the Saka loan-word *jhenīga* always appears with *e* in the texts although *ī* in Saka *ysinīya*.

§ 2. The treatment of *o* is parallel to that of *i*. It is preserved in the documents with the sole exception of *kuṣava* 345 for usual *koṣava*. *rucate* 585 is probably to be compared with Pali, Pkt. *rucati* rather than with Skt. *rocate*. *paribhuchamnae* 579, 581 is probably for **bhuñjanae*, rather than *bhojanāya*, because the infinitive is usually formed from the present base. *cudiyadi* in 661 shows that the change was established in Khotan, as is later borne out in the Saka texts (Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 20).

§ 3. *e* occasionally appears for short *i*: *garbheni* 593, *Jeṭuḡha* 591 (usually *ṭiṭuḡha*), *pačemakalammi* 332 (*pačima* 165, etc.); *levistarena* 160 (usually *livistara* = *lipi-vistāra*) has probably been influenced by *lekha*.

§ 4. *o* is written for *u* frequently after *h* and *pr*: *baho*, *anaho*, *prahoḍa*, *laho*, *ahono*, *gohomi* side by side with *bahu*, *amahu*, etc., *prochidavo* and *pruchidavo*. In all these cases the difference between the signs for *o* and *u* is very small, and it is more likely that *u* should everywhere be read than that there was really a change from *u* to *o*.

§ 5. The regular treatment of the vowel *r* is *ri*, which is written *ri*, *r* and *rr*: *atripta* 390, *etriṣa*, *krita*, *kriṣati*, *ghrida*, *grihasta*, *driṭha*, *triti*, *prichati*. It is written *r* in *rna*, *kṛta*, *grha*, *grṛheyati*, *dr̥ṭhati*, *rr* in *dr̥ṭhaḡa*, *tadr̥ṣa*. The *rr* is also used to represent *ri*, *rī asr̥ta* 511, *Priyaśrr*, *Kutaśrrae*. After *p* we get *ru* in *pruch-* (*proch-*), though also *pricha*, *pariprichati*. Usually after labials the vowel *r* is written (probably=*ru*): *pr̥chati*, *pr̥ṭheṣu*, *mṛga*, *mṛda* 'dead', *mṛduka* (*mṛyati*=*mriyate*), *vivr̥dhi*, *vṛc̥ha*, *vṛdha*, *san̥r̥dhae*, *pravṛti*. It appears as *i* in *kica*=*kṛtya*, *kiḍa*=*kṛta*, *kiṣam̥nae* 'to plough', *gim̥nam̥ti* 'they take', *siṅgavera* 'ginger'. As *a* in *praḡata*=*prakṛta*, *anahetu*=*ṛnahetu* (unless *ana-*=*a-*, *an-* 'not'), *katam̥ti*. As *u* in *huḍi* 703=*bhṛti* *prahūḍa*=*prābhṛta*. A following dental is usually cerebralised when the *r* disappears: *praḡata*, *kiḍa*, *huḍi*. The rule seems to be that *r* is preserved, but a number of forms have crept in from other dialects without *r*. In the Dh.p. examples are found where the *r* becomes *r* and vowel: *vriḍha* C^{vo} 34, *driḍha* C^{vo} 17, *savr̥uto*=*san̥vṛta*; but (as a result of its Prakrit original?) forms without *r* are more common: *diṭhi*, *kita*, *kica*, *alagito*=*alam̥kṛta*, *akitaña*, *amutu*, *mucuno*, etc.

§ 6. *aya*=(1) *aya*: *svaya* 'self' 709, *vayaṃ* 663, 666, *ṣayati* 'gets hold of' (*śrayate*), *jayaṃta* 'victorious'.

(2) *eya*: *bheya* (*bheyidavya*), *veyaṃ*, *ubheya*, *treya*, *niḥeya*, *praceya* (*ṣeyita*), *jeyam̥tasa*, *sampreṣeyati* 288.

(3) *e*: *anem̥ti*, *niḥe*, *prace*, *tre*, *svē*=*svayam*. Almost always in causative verbs: *taḍeti*, *dhareti*, etc.

The forms in *-aya* are certainly due to the influence of Sanskrit. It is more difficult to judge of the relation of the *-eya* and *-e* forms. We find *praceya* by the side of *prace*, *niḥeya* and *niḥe*, *treya* and *tre*. It would seem that *-aya* everywhere regularly became *-e*, but that final *-e*=*-aya* was readapted to the declen-

sional system by the adding of *-a*. The process was applied also to native words and names ending in *-e*: *loteya* for *lote*, *Lpipeya* beside *Lpipe*, etc. Further, when the second *-a* formed part of a heavy syllable (e.g. *Jayaṃta*, *Jeyamta*) the disyllabic form was regularly preserved (never **Jenta*).

§ 7. *ava* becomes *o* in *vyochiṃnida*, *vyoṣeti*, *no* = '9', *omaḡa* = *gvama(ka)* 'falling short', *ohara*.

ava is preserved in *avāsīṭha* 'remaining', *avakaśa*, *avaśa* 'certainly'.

va alternates with *o* in the non-Indian *ṣoṭhaṃga* (an official), also *ṣvaṭhaṃga*, and in the name of the king, *Aṃgoka* and *Aṃkvaḡa* (*Aṃḡvaka*, *Aṃḡvaka*, *Aṃḡmka*).

§ 8. Final *-āya* > *-ae* in infinitives: *deyaṃnae* 'to give', etc. Also written *-aya*, *-aye*; *karaṃnaya*, *karaṃnaye*; the suffix *-aḡa* = *-aka* is treated in the same way: *ditae* 'given', *thavaṃnae* (*-aḡa*) 'cloth'; also *-aḡa*: *diṭaḡa*, *dharaṃnaḡa*.

The change is much more common in past participles than in ordinary nouns and adjectives. (Here perhaps the original Nom. Sing. *-ake* (cf. § 53) might be responsible, cf. § 74.)

§ 9. Final *-ya* and *-iya* become *-i*: *muli* 'price', *eśvari* 'ownership', *arogī* 'health'.

-ya is always preserved in *karya*. *Dhamapri* n.pr. = *Dharma-priya*. Then *-ya* comes to be written for *-i*: *ahumaṭṭya* 399 = *aham api*, *palṭṭiya* 42 = *palṭṭi* 'tax'. The treatment of gerundival forms is peculiar. Either the *-vya* is preserved or it becomes *-vo*: *dadavya* and *dadavo*. Both forms are found in about equal numbers, cf. §§ 53, 116.

§ 10. Svarabhakti occurs regularly between *r* and *h*: *garahati* 'complains', *arahaṃta* 'saint'. Also in *gilanaḡa* 'sick'.

An *i* is evolved before *stri* only in 231 *istriae*, but the regular form in the dialect is *stri* as in Sanskrit.

§ 11. A certain amount of vowel elision occurs in Sāndhi: e.g. *ajwadae* 'starting from to-day', *ceṣa* = *ca eṣa*, *emaceva* = *evam ca eva*, *ciśa* = *ca iśa*. That is to say in formulae that are regarded as one expression. For the rest hiatus is the rule: 324 *parihara oḡita aṃṇeṣa*, etc.

§ 12. Final *-as* seems to have become *-e* as in the Mansehra version of Aśoka's edicts. It is preserved regularly in the ablative singular: *tade*, *Caḍodade*, *goḥade*, *śavathade*, etc. = °*ātas*. The nominative and accusative have been confused and the *-a* which serves for both is the accusative *-am*. Only *se* = *saḥ* preserves the old nominative ending. In addition we often find *u* (*o*) or *a* in adverbial forms in *-tas*: *itu*, *ito* = *itaḥ*, *agratu*, *agrata* = °*taḥ*, *ṣunu*, *ṣuno*, *ṣuna* = *ṣunar*, *ṣratu* = *ṣrātar*, *yatu* 52 = *yataḥ*.

J. Bloch (*B.S.O.S.* vi, 292) points out a similar occurrence of the adverbial *tato* in the Kalsi (and Mansehra) version of Aśoka's edicts.

Both *e* and *o* seem to have been current in the North-West. In Aśoka Shahbazgarhi has *o*, Mansehra *e*. In the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions the *e* seems to predominate in the districts west of the Indus. The Kharoṣṭhi Dh.p. has *o* or *u* (or *a*) in the nominative, which may be due to its Prakrit original.

§ 13. The elision of vowels is not infrequent: *Butsena* = *Buddhaṣena*, *Yoksena* = *Yogaṣena*, *Ṣammera* = *Śrāmanera*, *Ṣamseṇna* = *Śamaṣena*, *vastarna* = (*u*)*pastarana*, *muṣka* = *mūṣika* 565. Often in non-Indian names: *Yilika* and *Yilga*, *Ṣapika* and *Ṣapga*, *Mañḡeya* and *Mañḡeya*, etc. Finally: *cotaṃ* = *codama* 425, *rotam* 252, 272 = *rotama*, *gamaṃ* 646 = *gama*, *śramaṃ* 250 = *śrama*. It is worth while noticing that all these examples of the elision of final *a* come after *n*. Probably there was a general tendency to elide the final *a*, but except in the case of *-na* there was no temptation to express it in writing, since the *a*-vowel is not written and the *virāma* was not used in writing Prakrit. Only in the case of *-ana* was it convenient to write the shorter form by using the anusvāra under the preceding akṣara. No doubt *-aṃ* stands for *-an* as in Tocharian.

Final *-deva* in proper names seems to have been shortened to **-dev*, and then this has further developed into *-deyu*. Examples: *Upateyu*, *ḡivadeyu*, *Baladeyu*, *Budhadeyu*.

CONSONANTS

§ 14. **Unvoicing.** The native language of Shan-Shan lacked the voiced stops *g, j, d, b*, as is evident from a survey of the proper names. As a result of this they tended to unvoice the Prakrit *g, d*, etc., and the fact is sometimes reflected in the spelling, e.g. *kilane* 'ill', *yokaçhema*, *civaraçhi* 460, *chamlpita* = *jalpita* 113, *camnma* = *janma* 180, *saracidati* 648 = *sarajitamti* (usually), *canati* 590 = *janati*, *taṃṭa*, *taçima*, *taçavida*, *tita*, *tivajhi*, *tivira*, *tivya*, *tui* '2', *tura*, *toṣa*, *trakhma*, *tramgha*, *triṭha*, *tharidavo*, *utaḡa*, *satriṣa*, *mutra*, *prateja*, *coteyati*, *veteyati*, *Namtaṣena*, *poḡa* = *bhoga*.

Usually the forms are sporadic, the voiced forms being the usual ones, but in *palpi* (i.e. *palvi*), = *bali*, the *p* invariably occurs because that word had been adopted into the popular speech and was felt as a native word.

As will be seen the confusion is commonest with dentals. That is probably because the state of things in the Prakrit itself gave rise to confusion. The traditional writing of *dida* 'given' was *dita*, and so it was easy to write *t* in other positions, e.g. *tida*. In other cases a spirant, *ḡ, y, (s), w*, was produced and there was less tendency to confusion. Further, the *t* and *d* are often difficult to distinguish in writing.

§ 15. Another result of pronouncing *d*, etc. as *t*, etc. was to write *d*, etc. instead of *t*: *dusya*, *daha*, *dahi*, *dumahu*, *dena*, *danu*, *danuvaka*, *daḡita*, *daçhamna* 'carpenter', *jinida* = *ch*° 580, *jhorida* = *chor*°.

In native proper names: *Giraka* beside *Kiraka*, *Jimoya* beside *Cimoya*, *Jinaṣa* beside *Cinaṣa*, *Pideya* and *Piteya*, *Dhameca* and *Tameca*, *Boṣarsa* and *Poṣarsa*, *Buṃni* and *Puṃniyade*, *Parabulade* and *Parampulanmi*.

It is worth while noticing that most of the Prakrit examples are pronominal forms, and possibly the voicing has some foundation in the Prakrit itself. As unaccented forms their initial would be liable to be treated as intervocalic *t*, i.e. become voiced; although here again it should perhaps be attributed to confusion of writing.

§ 16. Intervocalic consonants *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, *ś*, *s*, probably *ṣ*, become voiced, and *k*, *c*, *t*, *p*, also *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *b* (?), further become spirants *ḡ*, *ṣ́*, (*j̣*), *ḍ̣*, *v*.

k, *g*: *avaḡaḡa* = *avakāṣa*, *praḡasita* = *prakāṣita*, *aḡasita* 'carried off' from *ā* and *kas*; *pratiḡara*, *siḡata*, *yathagamaḡaraniya* 661 = *yathakāmakaraniya*, *ameḡa*, *bhaḡa*, etc.

The *k* is usually preserved in *eka*, which points to a double *ḳ* as in Prakrit *ekka*. The pronunciation of this *ḡ* was very close to *y*, because they are occasionally confused.

ḡ is written for *y*: *aprameḡo*, frequently for *aprameyo(a)*; *kośalḡa*, for *kośalya*; *vyāḡa* = *vyaya-*.

y is written for *ḡ* in *aṃṇā yala* 431 = *aṃṇā kala*. The phrase has been treated as a compound. Also *viraya* = *virāḡa* 546, 622, *jheniya* 278 (usually *jheniḡa*) 'under the care of', *saṃvatsaraye* (= *-ake*) 186, 422.

The suffix *-aḡa* tends to become *-ae*, especially in past participles, *ditae* and *ditāga*, etc. Similarly *-ūka* becomes *-wā* in *agamduwā* 33. The guttural was weaker in the suffix than in other places. *-ika* = *-i*, cf. § 75.

k and *g* are often preserved in writing: *akasida*, *agata*, *nagara*, etc.

Noteworthy is the title *ogu*, which never appears with the spirant, although that is otherwise the rule not only in Indian but in native words: *Caḡu*, *Mogata*, etc. It is perhaps *oggu* with double *g*.

The state of things in the Dh.p. is exactly the same, although the writing is less clear. Intervocalic *k* and *g* both appear as *ḳ*: *urako*, etc.; but that *ḳ* is confused with *y* just as *g* in the documents *udaka* B 13, C^v 18 = *udaya*, *dhoreka* C^v 37 = *dhoreya*, so that it is plain we are dealing with a spirant.

§ 17. *c* and *j*. In the Dh.p. intervocalic *c* and *j* invariably become *y*: *śoyati* = *śocati*, *goyari* = *gocare*, *vianato* = *vijanato*, *parvaitasa* = *pravrajitasya*. In the documents the treatment is not so regular. We find *y* for *j* in *maharaya* (always), *vaniye* 'merchants' 35. *ni* contracted out of *nīya* = *nīja* 'own', and in the literary pieces *oya* = *ojas* 501, *bhoyamna* = *bhojana* 501.

In addition both *c* and *j* are represented by *ṣ́*, *j̣* (i.e. *ṣ̣*): *praśura* = *pracura*, *yajitaga* = *yācitaka*, *vajidesi* 'you read' 376

(so read instead of *vaṭ-*); $j = ś$, j in *bhija* 'seed', *vibhaṣita* 'decided'. There is some difficulty in deciding between y and $ś$, and, in the last instance, *vibhayita* could possibly be read. Since both treatments are well attested it is impossible to decide on linguistic grounds. Perhaps *vibhayi-* is more likely because the alternative spelling j never appears. In that case y may be taken as the regular treatment of j because the j of *bhija* may be explained by the doubling of the consonant after a long vowel (common in Prakrit, Pischel, § 91), i.e. *bija* > **bīya* > **biyya* > **b(h)ijja* > *bhija* (on $j = jj$, cf. *raja*, *aḥa* beside *raja*, *aḥa*). The same development appears in *īsa* 'here', Skt. *iha*, Aś. (Shah) *ia*, i.e. *iya* > *iyya* (by a natural emphasising which particles like this are exposed to) > *īsa*, *īja* (= **īśa*).

In Saka loan-words j and c usually appear as $ś$ (= $ṣ$): *tīśa* = *tejas*, *daśa* = *dhvaja*, *āśiria* = *ācārya*, *avīśā* = *avīci*.

§ 18. $ṭ$ and $ḍ$ become = $ḍ$: *kukuḍa* 'cock', *koḍi* 'crore', *kiḍa* 'done', *vaḍavi* 'mare', *taḍita*, *daḍima* 'pomegranate'.

Intervocalic $ṭ$ is sometimes preserved: *aloṭa vilōta* 'plundering and ravaging', *samghaṭi-davo* 106, 584, *paṭa* 'cloth'. Here we probably have $ṭṭ$. Not however in *viheṭa* 621 (usually *viheḍ-*) 'worries', *coṭaḡa* 317 = *coḍaḡa*, *guṭa* 17, which obviously stands for *gūḍha*. With reference to these spellings it must be borne in mind that the difference between the akṣaras for $ṭa$ and $ḍa$ is often very small.

At present in the North-West intervocalic $ḍ$ is represented by r , and that may have been the pronunciation at this time. There seems to be one instance of confusion between $ḍ$ and r . In 574 *śaḍa taṇmi* appears for *śarataṇmi* 'in the autumn'. Moreover in the Dh.p. B 43 *visara* = *visaṭa*, C^{vo} 39 *karu* = *kāṭum*, *ajinaśaria* (Pet. Fragm.) = *ajinaśātyā*. Likewise in Tocharian loan-words we find r for $ṭ$, $ḍ$: *Cakravar* = *vāḍa*, *kapār* = *kapāṭa*, *kor* = *koṭi*.

On the other hand loan-words in Saka usually appear with l : *alavi* 'forest', *kūla* 'crore', *gūla* 'molasses', *nālai* = Skt. *nāṭaka*, *vīrūlīnaa* 'made of beryl', *palā* 'banner', which would seem to point to l .

§ 19. t , d . There is no doubt that intervocalic t was voiced in the Prakrit, but matters are obscured by the fact that the

natives of Shan-Shan pronounced everywhere *t* for both *d* and *t*. Further, the traditional system of writing was probably archaic, so that e.g. *dita* was written for what was pronounced *dida* by proper speakers of Prakrit and *tita* by the natives of Shan-Shan. As a result we find *t* and *d* used indiscriminately for intervocalic (and even initial, §§ 14, 15) *t* and *d*.

t is omitted in *caura* '4', side by side with *catu-* and *caturtha-*. Similarly in the Dh.p. we find *cauri* '4', although intervocalic *t* is usually preserved. Further possible examples are *samao* (*samaho*) 'with' < *samataḥ* and *mahuli* 'aunt' < *mātulī*.

§ 20. *p=v*: *avi*, *darśaveti*, etc.; *uṭavala*, *parivalitavya*, *vavamaṇṇae*, *mavida*, etc.

The *p* is often preserved in writing: *paripalitavo*, *upagata*, *apanaya*, etc.

Intervocalic *b* (*bh*) is usually preserved as such: *paribuḷisatu* 'you shall understand', *vibhasita*, etc. They may have pronounced *v*, which does turn up occasionally: *Śilaprava* n.p. 519, 592, and possibly *parivanae* 214 = *paribhāṇḍa(ka)*, *pivamaṇṇae* 586 = **pi-bandhanāya*. In 519 read *bahuve* not *vahuve*.

In the Dh.p. examples of *b* (*bh*) = *v* occur: *avalaśa* = *abalāśva*, *abhivvyu* = *abhibhūya* and vice versa *makabha* is written for *maghavā*.

In *supraudha*, *prauḷhati* the *v* (i.e. *ṽ*) is not written. Similarly in Saka *aviṣṭya* = *abhiṣeka*.

§ 21. *ś* becomes *ṣ*, written *j*: *avaḡaja* = *avakāśa*, *kojalya*, *dajavita*, *pradejade*. This *ś* is often preserved in writing.

§ 22. *s* becomes *ṣ*, written *ṣ* or *jh*: *aḡhia* = *āśya*, *aḡaḡhidati* 'they seized', *tivajha* 'day', *dajha* 'slave'.

ṣ in *maṣa* 'month', *daṣa*, *divaṣa*, *ṣpaṣa*, *Budhaṣena*, and always in names in *-sena*, *aṣi* 'was', *viṣajideṣi* 'you sent'.

The *-aśya* (*-assa*) of the genitive singular also appears as *-aṣa* (cf. R. L. Turner, *J.R.A.S.* (1927), 227-39).

As in the case of the other consonants intervocalic *s* may be preserved in writing: *asi* (3 times) side by side with *aṣi* (3 times), *asita* 'sat' 339, etc., *uḡasita*, *nikasiṣyati*, *prahitesī* 358, *denasi* 358, etc.

ṣ never appears when followed by *u* or the anusvāra, e.g. *śvasu*

'sister', *masu* 'wine', *vasaṃta* 'spring'. Probably this was a question of convenience of writing.

s appears initially in certain particles and pronominal forms which were unaccented, and consequently the *s* could be treated as intervocalic: *ṣamao* and *ṣadha* 'with', *ṣaca* (particle introducing a quotation), *ṣe* 'he', *ṣarva* 'all'.

The two ways of expressing *z* probably arose independently. Perhaps *jh* was modified from the existing *jh* specially to represent the Iranian *z*, which there was no room for expressing in Kharoṣṭhi, because in the Iranian word *jheniḡa* we invariably find *jh* and not *s*. Similarly *ajhade* 'free-born', *Himajha* = *στρατηγός*, whereas *s* arose as a modification of the *s* in the same way as *ḡ*, *j*, etc. were invented, to meet the developments of the Prakrit itself which had occurred by this time. On the whole question see the Account of the Alphabet, p. 310 of the edition.

§ 23. *ṣ* probably followed the analogy of the other sibilants, but trouble was not taken to express it: *darṣida*, which is no doubt = Av. *darəz* 'bind', must contain a voiced *ṣ*, i.e. **darṣida*.

§ 24. There is a tendency to drop the aspiration in the aspirated consonants *kh*, *gh*, etc. That was because the native language of Shan-Shan had no aspirates and consequently in pronouncing the Prakrit they neglected them: *nikaliṣyati* 188 (usually *nikhal-*) 'to remove', *gaṣa* 'fodder', *grida* 'ghee', *ṣigra*, *vyagra*, *saṃga*, *agacati* 122, *cimnita* 598 'cut', *jinida* = *chiṃnita*, *pratama*, *śavataḍe*, *ṣitilya*, *adicite*, *gaṃdarvena*, *goduma*, *daridavo*, *paṃda* = *paṃthā*, *sada* 'with', *maḍya* 'middle', *tanana* = *dhanā-nām* 583, *vṛtaḡa* 399 'old', *uṭa* 'camel', *kumba* 'jar', *baḡena*, *bara*, *buma*.

§ 25. It was always correct to write the aspirated forms, and these more usually occur, e.g. *ghrida* (21 times), *grida* (3 times), *bhuma* (39 times), *buma* (7 times), *adhimatra*, *ghaṣa*, *ghrita*, *lekha* (never **leka*), *goṭha* (never *gota*), *jeṭha* (never *jeṭa*), *śavatha*, *bhaḡa*, etc., etc. *uṭa* 'camel' is invariably written without aspiration except in 422 (one of the earliest of the documents), where it appears with the modified *ṭh*: *uṭha*.

§ 26. This state of affairs further results in the writing of aspirated forms where they do not belong: *aṃgha* 252, *draṃgha*

430, *sihavera* 'ginger', *Sacamma* 159 n.pr. (usually *Saca-*), *paribhuchanae*=*paribhuñjanāya* or *paribhoj-*, *sarachidati* 591 'agreed' (usually *saraj-*), *uthiśa*=*uddiśya*, *vivatha* 'quarrel', *gaṇdhavo*, *dhaṇḍa*, *dhañha* 225, *dhañima* 617, *dhana*=*dāna*, *dhaśamma* 401, *dhida* 'given', *dhivaśa*, *dhura*, *durbhale* 392, *bhiti* 'second'.

§ 27. Those aspirated consonants which had remained down to the time of the importation of the Prakrit into Central Asia are treated as stated above. But before this time the majority of intervocalic aspirates had become *h* (for those that remain, e.g. *śavata*, cf. § 24): *-ehi*, *-ahi* of the instrumental plural: *lihati* (also written *likhati*), *saṃmuha*, *pramuha*, *suha*, *nihan* (= *nikhan* or *nihan?*), *taha* 'so', *amahu*, *tumahu*=*asmabhyam*, etc., *lahu*, *lahamti*=*labhante*, *parihaśa* 'claim'=*paribhāśā*, *prahuḍa*=*prābhṛta*, *gohomi* 'wheat' (also *goma* and *godūma*), *huḍi*=*bhṛti*- 399, *hoti*, etc. 'is'. The change is regular in the case of terminational elements, the unaccented *hoti*, *huda*, and in the case of intervocalic *kh*.

In the examples of *h* in the Dh.p. we cannot be sure whether we are dealing with northern forms or forms from the original version, e.g. *oha*=*ogha*, *ohaseti*=*avabhāśayati*, *suhu*, *lahati*, *aśuha*, *uhu*=*ubho* B 2.

§ 28. There is considerable irregularity in the treatment of *h*, owing to its absence in the native language.

(1) It is omitted: *mahanuava* for *mahanuhava* (once, 593)=*bhāva*, *mayi* 661=*mahi* (Gen. not Loc.), *ara*=*hāra* 113, *svarna ara* (?), *danagrana* 577, 588 for usual *danagrahana* 'giving and taking', *goma* 'wheat', *giḍa*=*grhīta*, *Syabala* n.pr.=*Sihabala*, *ačhati* besides *hāčhati* (only here *akṣ-* is the original form), *astama* besides *hastama* 'dispute', *astalekha* 414, *astamma* 662, *paḍuśaga* 'security'=**paḍihū-aḡa*=*pratibhū*, *paropimtsamānā* 510=**paropahiṃsamāno* (as required by the metre).

(2) It is transposed in *uhati* for *huati* 'is'.

(3) It is put in where it does not belong: *prihito smi* 140=*pritosmi*, *hadehi* 476 (usually *adehi*), *sahasrahani* 646 'thousands', *śamahō* besides *śamao* 'with', *Pugohasa* 511 (Gen. of *Puḡo*). Possibly *heḍi* 663=*eḍā* 'sheep'.

§ 29. Besides *v* there is a letter transliterated *ó* which was probably a *w*. It was characteristic of the native language which had no *v*. It occurs commonly in native names: *Ūapika*, *Ūarpa*, *Ūúgaca*, *Ūúa*, and in the title *vasu*.

In Prakrit words it is evolved between *u* and a following vowel: *hetuóena*, Instr. of *hetu* 'cause'; *tanuóaga* 'own'; similarly in *vasuóana* *Lpimsuóasya*.

They are not however consistently used. We find *v* side by side with *ó* in native proper names: *Varpeya* beside *Ūarpeya*, *vasu* besides *vasu*. Further *Vukto*, *Vuóaca* (also *Ūuóaca*), *Vuóeya*, *Vuru*, *vuryaga*.

Also *ó* instead of *v* in the Prakrit: *uóadae*, *kaṁaóeti*, *viṁṇaóeti*, *maóesi*, *óamti*.

The explanation of this confused state of affairs is probably that they tended everywhere to say *ó*, which was the nearest sound in their own language to the Prakrit *v*.

§ 30. It was probably a characteristic of the local pronunciation that they tended to pronounce initial *u-* as *wu-*. We find *uryaga* side by side with *vuryaga* (some kind of profession or class) and in 399 *vulasi* seems to be for *ullāsa* 'wonder'. Also native names are common beginning with *wu-*, *úu-*, practically non-existent with *u-* (see *Kharoṣṭhi Inscr.* Index Verb.).

§ 31. *l* was softened before *i* in the native language into what has been printed *l̥* but should be written *ly* or *l̥y*, e.g. *L̥yipeya*, *L̥yimsu*, etc. In Prakrit words it does not often appear, though it was probably usually pronounced. We find *l̥p̥hida* 575 for *lihita*, *vyaḷ̥p̥i* fem. of *vyala* 'wild'. In *pal̥pi* 'tax' = *bali* it is invariably written just as the initial *p-* always appears for *b-*, presumably because it had become part of the native language. In native names it is occasionally, though rarely, omitted to be written: *Lipe* 754 beside *L̥p̥ipe*, *Livarajhma* beside *L̥p̥ivarasma*, *Piṣal̥iyammi* beside *Piṣal̥piyammi*.

§ 32. *yi-* probably developed in other positions too. Certainly at the beginning of words, just like *wu-* developed out of *u-*. There are no native names beginning with *i-*, plenty with *yi-*: *Yitaka*, *Yiliga*, *Yipge*, *Yisata*, *Yirumdhina*. It affects Prakrit words only in *yiyo* = *iyam* 348, 410, *yima* = *ime* 237.

Possibly native *ni*, *ti* had also become *ñi*, *ci*. *ti* does not seem to occur in native names, *ni* only in *Kenika*, *Cinika* (which is probably derived from *Cina* 'Chinese' and so would keep its *n*); whereas *ñi* is common: *Ñimeya*, *Acuñiya*, *Apñiya*, *Kuñita*, *Kriñila*, *Mañigeya*, *Señūma*. In the case of the last two changes, no influence on the Prakrit can be traced.

§ 33. One of the chief characteristics of the North-Western Prakrit, and which is found in the Dardic languages to this day, is the preservation of the three sibilants as in Sanskrit:

ś. *śata*, *daśa*, *darśaveti*, *avakāśa*, etc.

ṣ. *teṣu*, *doṣa*, *eṣa*, *varṣa*, etc.

There are no instances of confusion.

śāsana becomes *śāśana* 310 in the same way as original **śasa* became *śasa* in Sanskrit. It was the regular form in the North-West, as it occurs also in the Dh.p. and as a loan-word in Saka *śśāsana*. The Dh.p. also has *viśpaśa*, which is the same kind of assimilation.

§ 34. The cerebral *ṇ* has ceased to be distinguished from *n* in the dialect. It is occasionally written, but irregularly. (See Account of the Alphabet, p. 305 of the edition.)

CONJUNCT CONSONANTS

§ 35. **Stop + stop.** Assimilated in the same way as in other Prakrits: *anata* = *aññapta*, *śata* = *śapta*, *satati* '70', *sataṇma* '7th', *bhata* = *bhakta*, *balakarena* = *balātkāreṇa*, *rataga* = *raktaka*, *satu* = *saktu*, *vuta* = *ukta* and *upta*, *saṃchitena* = *saṃkṣiptena*, *upaṇma* = *utpanna*, *ukasta* = **utkasta*, *uḥhivana* from *ut* + *kṣip*, *ladha* = *labdha*.

The conjunct consonants are preserved in writing sometimes: *vibhaktaga*, *vukta*, *prañapta*, *viṃñapti*.

In 5.1, *uktama* = *uttama*, a mistaken attempt at restoration is made.

§ 36. **Compounds with r.** As a rule *r* is not assimilated.

(a) *r* comes first: *antargata*, *Arjunasa*, *varjavidavo*, *viśarjida*, *artha*, *ardha*, *kartavo*, *kirti*, *vardhati*, *purva*, *sarva*, *garbha*, *karya*,

niryoga, *durlāpa* = *durlabha*, *parvata*, *varṣa*, *darśida* 'packed', *darśana*.

There do not seem to be any examples of Prakrit *rk*. In native names there seems to be a tendency for it to become *rg*, though voiced stops are otherwise absent from the language, e.g. *Argiceya*, *Argiya*, *Kargate*, *Cargayodae*, *Tsurgeya*, *Bargada*. *k* also appears: *Carka*, *Tsurkeya*, *Patirke*, etc. *g* never appears as a spirant in this position. The same change appears in Śaka (*birgga* < *vyka*, etc.) (Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 23).

rm is written *m̄*: *dhāma*, *kāmā*, *caṃā*, *nīmala*, *ḥivaśāma*. *rm* is occasionally written; *dharmiyaṣa* 579, 581, title of king Amgoka. Occasionally also the superscript line is omitted: *ḥivaśamma* 611, *dhama* 228, *Dhamasriae* 21, etc.

(b) Consonants + *r*: *agra*, *vyagra* 'tiger' 665, *citra*, *atra*, *tre*, *matra*, *kāmakaritra*, *kriṣivatra*, *apramana*, *pra-*, *prati-* (also *paḍi-*), *prathama* (also *paḍama*), *bhrata*.

gr is represented by *kr* in *ajakra* 'up till to-day' and possibly in *akri* (*bhuma*) = *agrya*.

The *ḥ* which sometimes appears for *tra*, e.g. *Paṭaya* and *Patraya*, *Brahmacariṭa* 399 for *Brahmacaritra*, *kamakariṭa* 166 v.l. for *tra*, is merely due to the fact that the two akṣaras are difficult to distinguish.

§ 37. Cases where *r* is assimilated.

(a) When placed first: *śakara* 702 'sugar', *vadhī* 264 n. 3 might be *vārdhrī* 'rope', *viśajidavo* side by side with *viśarj-*, *parivaṭidemi* 'I exchanged' = *parivart-*, *kaṭavo* beside *kartavo*, *bhaṭaraḡa* 'master', *adha* 169 (usually *ardha*). At 589 also *adha* occurs. *śadha* 'with' (also *sardha*), *payati* = *paryāpti*, *aya* (409) = *ārya*, *sava* 565 (elsewhere always *sarva*), *tumbhichā* 589 (*trubhichā* 581) = *durbhikṣa*, *umna* 149 = *ūrṇā*.

The cases of assimilation are definitely in a minority; where both forms occur those with *r* are much more common (e.g. *sava* and *sarva*, *adha*, *aḍha* and *ardha*; the forms without *r* occur only once). Some forms may be borrowed from an Eastern dialect. That is certainly so in the case of *bhaṭaraḡa* 'master'.

Aṭhovaḡa 'serviceable' according to Prof. Thomas = *arthopaka*. The value of the *ḥh* is not certain (see the Account of the

Alphabet, p. 304 of the edition). No other example is found which contains an *r*.

(b) *r* comes last: *vakuṭha* = *apakruṣṭa* (doubtful), otherwise *kr* is always preserved, *kṛita*, *parikṛaya*, etc. The *r* is always assimilated in *uṭa* = *uṣṭra* 'camel'; also *Rāṭhapala* n.pr. 660 = *Rāṣṭrapāla*.

§ 38. Apart from these it is only assimilated in the case of *śr*, which regularly becomes *ṣ*: *śayati* 'seizes' = *śrayate*, *maṣu* = *śmaśrū*, *śamaṇna*, *śamaṇnera* = *śramaṇa*, *śrāmaṇera*, *śunami* 695 'I hear'. *vyoṣeti* 'pays, hands over' probably = **vyavaśrayati* and perhaps Prakrit *vosirai*, which the grammarians explain as *vy-ava-srj*. *miṣi* (*bhuma*) may be *miśrya* 'mixed'.

The change is often neglected in writing, almost always in *śru*- 'to hear', also *śramana*.

This development was universal in the North-West. It does not occur in Aśoka, but is common in the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions, and in the Dh.p., e.g. *śavaka*, *śadhu* 'faithful', *śamano*, *śebha* = *śreyas*, *śutvana*. Also in loan-words in Saka: *śśamana*, *śśāvaa*, *śśadda*. Note also Toch. *śamaṃ*, Sogd. *šmn* = *śramana*.

In the Dh.p. *sr* also seems to share this treatment in *anavaṣu-tacitasa*; *viśravatena* = **visravantena* represents an intermediate process or else *śr* is just written for *ṣ*. Compare also *śrotas* = *srotas*, etc. in the Divyāvadāna. The *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins, from which this text is abstracted, is said to belong to the North-West.

§ 39. A characteristic of the North-West was the transposition of *r* in forms like *dhrama* for *dharma*. It occurs in both the Kharoṣṭhi versions of Aśoka, e.g. *grabhagara*, *dhrama*, *krama*, *pruva*, *draśana*, side by side with forms that are not transposed, e.g. *savra* (written for *sarva*), *kiṭra*, *athra*, etc. Outside Aśoka it is common in the MS. *Dutreuil du Rhins*, e.g. *drugati*, *dru-medhiso*, *drugha*, *pravata*.

On the other hand there is practically no trace of it in the dialect of these documents. The only examples are *trubhichā* = *durbhikṣa* 581 and *śirmitra* n.pr. 117, etc. compared with *sr̥mitra* 94.

Similarly, in most of the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from N.W. India this change is absent, e.g. (Konow, *C.I.I.* II, p. cvi) *dirgha*, *dharma*, *°karmi*, *°śarma*, *°varma*, etc.

§ 40. *l* is usually not assimilated: *jalpita*, *jalma*, *śilpiḡa*, *alpa*.

In this respect the dialect is more archaic than the Northern versions of Aśoka, where *l* is assimilated, e.g. *apa*, *kapa*, as also in the Dh.p. *apa*.

§ 41. *y* is usually assimilated to a preceding consonant.

ky = *k* or *g* in *osuka*, *°ga* = *autsukya*.

jy = *j*: *raja*, *jeṭha*.

dy = *ḍ*: *paḍeka*, *paḍuvagā*.

ty = *c*: *kica*. But always *nitya*.

dy = *j*: *aja*, *upajeśadi*, *khaja*.

dhy = *j*: *ajeśamṇae* = *adhyeśanayā*, *jāna* 511 = *dhyāna*, *vijaṃti* = *vidhyanti*.

ny = *ñ*: *aña*, *punña*.

bhy = *b* in *abomata* = *abhyaṃmata* in the phrase *abomata kṛ-* 'to disregard, disobey'.

vy = *v* in gerundives: *dadavo* beside *dadavya* (cf. § 9).

śy = *ś*: *avaśa*, *uśa*, *naśati*.

sy = *ś*: *kariśadi*, *maṃnuśa*, etc. The change had already taken place in Aśoka's time and was general in the North-West, e.g. (in Aśoka) *arabhiśaṃti*, *manuśa*, *anapeśaṃti*, etc. Similarly in the Dh.p. *devamanuśana* B 4. In the latter text the future seems usually to be in *ṣ*: *eṣiti*, *payeṣiti*. Presumably the *ya* of the future had become *i* before the change took place.

ēhy = *ēh* in *śaēhāmi* 188.

sy becomes *ṣ* in the termination of the genitive singular (§ 22): *goṭhaṣa*, etc.; *s* initially in *sali* 'brother in law' = *syāla*.

Sometimes *y* is written in connection with *ś*, *c*, *ch*, *ḍ* where it is not justified, e.g. *priyadarśyanaśa* 152, *paripruḥyaṃti* 690, *Sacyami* 436, *giḍya* = *giḍa* 215 'took'.

§ 42. Sometimes *y* is not assimilated. In many cases this is merely the archaic or Sanskritising way of writing, which we are continually meeting with. Certainly in the case of genitive singulars in *asya* and futures in *iṣyati*. (The assimilation had already taken place in Aśoka 500 years earlier.) Also in *osukya*,

madya, *madhya* (curiously enough *j* is never written in this word, though it usually occurs in such forms as *aja*, etc.), *amnyatha*, *manyu*, *udīśya*. It is perhaps regularly preserved in the futures *stasyati*, *dasyati*; *syāt(i)* always becomes *siyati*.

The combinations *ry* and *ly* were probably regularly preserved: *kalyana*, *niryōga*, *viryaṃda*, *karya*. *payati* in the phrase *bhijapayati* 'capacity for seed', which seems to be = *paryāpti*, is an exception, also *aya* in 419 = *ārya*. Final *-yā* (i.e. *-iya*) usually becomes *-i* (§ 9). It is always preserved in *karya*.

Initial *vy-* and *sy-* stand for *viya-*, *siya-*, with which they alternate, e.g. *vyochimnita*, *vyoṣeti*, *vyartha*. Also *vīyoṣ-*, etc., *siyati* and *syati* 'may be'. Note also *Syabala* n.pr. = *Si(h)abala*.

§ 43. *tv* and *dv* tend to become *p* and *b*, e.g. *badaśa* '12', *capariśa* '40', *biti* 'second'.

We also find *dvadaśa* and always *dvi*, *dui* '2', which was disyllabic. Also *daditva*, *saṃpreṣitva* 204, *bhudva* 49. Always *dvara*.

The *v* is omitted in *diguna* 'double'. Presumably also in indeclinable participles in *ti* = Vedic *tvī*, *vajiti* 'having read', etc.

Similar forms are found in the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of N.W. India, see Konow, *C.I.I.* II, p. cviii, e.g. *sapana* = *sattvanam*, *ekacapariśai* '41'.

The rule is that original *tuva-*, *duva-* as found in the Veda were not assimilated: *dui*, Vedic *duvā*, Lat. *duo*, etc., but *di-guna*, *biti*, assimilated in different ways. Compare Vedic *dvi-* always monosyllabic, *dvara*, Vedic *duvārā*, e.g. R.V. 4. 51. 2.

§ 44. A nasal following another consonant is usually preserved. *n* is represented by the superscript line in *naḡa*, *viḡa* = *vighna*, *grḥeyati* (usually *gimn-*), *trṣa*, *tuṣi*, *laṣi* 'gift', *śatra*.

nm is preserved in *janṃma*.

khṛ in *trakhma* 'drachma'.

tm becomes *tv* in *mahatva* (an official title), if that is not = *mahattva*, and in *atvana* 510. The *tv* passes further into *p* in *apane* 139, which seems to = *atmanah*.

Compare *atva* in the M. version of Aśoka (ed. 11), also *ata*.

Sh. has always *ata*. The Dh.p. has *anatma* and *atuma* with svarabhakti.

jñ is assimilated to *ñ* in *viññati*, *saññaveti*, *yañña*.

In *anati*=*añnapti* we have to do with a borrowing. In Aśoka too we find *aṇap-* instead of the regular *añap-*. Similarly in Pali.

§ 45. The voiced stops *j*, *ḍ*, *d*, *b* tend to be assimilated to a preceding nasal. The process is most regular in the Dh.p.: *kuñaru* A³ 4, *nivinati* A³ 1, *tunati* B 28, *kana* B 34, *china* B 37; *N*, *ḍ*: *kunala* C^{vo} 31, *dana* B 39, *panita* C^{vo} 26; *mb*: *avaramu* A⁴ 2, *udumareṣu* B 40.

In the documents we find *gaññavara*=*gañjavana*, *chiññati*, *bhiññati*, *bañnanae* 'to bind', *amila* 655 (of uncertain meaning) besides *ambila* 33 (= *āmla*?), *hastama* 'dispute', an Iranian word = *ha-* + *stamba*, *parivanae* 214 probably = *paribhāṇḍaka* 'the load of a horse, baggage', *bhana* 149 = *bhāṇḍa-* (?).

The change never appears in *daṇḍa*, *piṇḍa*, and we find for instance *baṇḍhitaga* 660 side by side with *bañnidaga* 346.

On this change and its occurrence in the modern languages, cf. J. Bloch, *J. As.* (1912), pp. 331-7.

§ 46. In the Dh.p. unvoiced *k*, *c*, *t*, etc. are voiced when preceded by a nasal, e.g. *paga*=*pañka*, *paja*=*paṇca*, *sabaṣu*=*sampaṣyan*.

The documents do not present any consistent picture. We find *upaśaṅghidavo*=*upaśaṅk-*, *saṅghalidavo*=*saṅkal-*, *gaṇḍavo* 14 times against *gaṇṭavo* twice, *ciṇḍ-* and *ciṇṭ-* in about equal proportions; *c* never appears as voiced: *kiñci*, *paṇca*. Probably the change was regular as in the Dh.p., but since the natives of Shan-Shan tended to unvoice all voiced stops, it has been considerably obliterated.

The loan-words in Saka show the same change: *arahanda*, *cambaa*, *saṇḍuṣṭi*.

§ 47. The anusvāra is often omitted in writing, e.g. *abñya-dara*, *kaḍa*, *gadavo*, *Tajaka*, *traghade*=*dramghade*, *śriḅha* 585 'horn', *śiḅhavera* 'ginger', *ṣoṅhaga* 422 (usually *ṣoṅhaṅga*), etc.

It is written where it does not belong, e.g. *mumṅtra*=*mudrā*, *ḷiṭumḅha* (name of a king, usually *ḷiṭuḅha*), *chamḷpitamṅti* 113 =

jalpitaṃti, *kāṃlaṃmi* 98, *nagaṃraṃmi* 25, *ṣiṃvamiṭra* 290, *manasiṃgāra*, *Samr̥pina*, *tumbhīc̥ha* = *durbhikṣā*.

In *viṣati*, *triṣa*, *capariṣa*, *siha*, the *-ṃ-* is omitted as in all the Prakrits, Pali *tīsa*, *siha*, etc. *siṃgha* in 511 is due to a re-introduction of Sanskrit *siṃha*, as elsewhere in India, 'Singhalese', etc. It is also regularly omitted in *sarajitaṃti* 'they agreed' (*samrajyati*) and *viṣalavita* 295 = *viṣaṃlap-*.

An anusvāra is usually inserted before *n*, *m* after short vowels; e.g. *gachaṃnae*, *deyaṃnae*, and all the infinitives: *asaṃna* = *āsana*, *khaṃnitaṃti* 'they dug', *Khotam̐na*, *gaṃnana*, *jaṃna*, *jaṃnma*, *śramaṃna*, *sumiṃna* 'dream', *bim̐nita*, *chim̐nita*, *karuṃṃya*, *pun̐ṃa*; locatives in *aṃmi*: *agaṃmisyatu*, *navaṃma*, *sataṃma* '7th', *naṃmakurovati*.

Forms without the inserted anusvāra occur, but they are very much rarer, *gachanae*, etc., not more than one in seven.

The anusvāra is only rarely inserted in the case of long vowels. Never in the case of genitive plurals in *-ana*, instrumentals in *-ena*.

Examples: *aṃnitaṃti* 'they brought', *jaṃnaṣi*, *pariḥim̐na*, *pramaṃna*, *siṃnaṣa*, *Bhim̐maṣena*.

Nasals followed by the corresponding stop are always written with anusvāra, not *ñ*, *ṅ*, *n*, etc. The *ñ* which appears printed is probably never correct. The combination *ṅg* should be read, as given alternately in the notes, *tḡ*. It occurs only in native names: *Katḡeya*, *Kutḡe*, *Kuritḡe*, *Catḡu*, *Cipitḡu*, etc. *ṅg*, where it is certain, is always represented by *ṃg(h)*: *draṃga*, *aṃgha*, *saṃghalidavo*. Also *g* never became a spirant after the nasal. *ñk* should be read as *ts* in *Raṃṣoṅka*, etc. Similarly in the *MS. Dutreuil du Rhins* the akṣara transliterated *ñs* by Senart should be read *ts*: *satsara* A² 6, *ahitsai* A⁴ 8, *bhetsiti* C^{vo} 3, for *sānsara*, etc. There was no *ñ* in Kharoṣṭhi.

§ 48. Groups with final sibilant.

kṣ is preserved in the form *čh*: *čhetra*, *yogačhema*, *bhīc̥hu*, *trubhīc̥ha*, *cočha* 'clean', *čhuna*, *čhira*, *dilīc̥ha* = *titikṣā*, *dačhina*, *načhatrami*, *pracāc̥ha*, etc.

hāc̥hati 'may be, will be' = Prakrit *acchai* shows that that form must go back to an original *kṣ*. The *kṣ* is also preserved in the

Kharoṣṭhi versions of Aśoka and in the later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of the North-West.

In Saka we find *kṣ* in loan-words: *kṣāṇdā* = *kṣānti*, etc. The writing of the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.p. does not preserve the distinction between *čh* and *ch*, e.g. *chaya*, *bhichavi*, etc.

In the modern languages of the North-West original *kṣ* is distinguished from *ch*, e.g. *Shīṇā čec* = *kṣetra aci* = *akṣi*.

It is of course not certain whether *čh* stands for *kṣ* or some modification of it in the direction of the modern languages, but it is worth noticing that in Saka we find *kṣattrā* written for *chattra*.

kṣ is simplified to *ṣ* before *m* in *susmela* = *sūkṣmelā* 'small cardamoms', which occurs frequently in the Bower Manuscript.

kṣ becomes *kh* only in *khoriṭāga* 'shaven', which must be borrowed. In 322 we find *bhighu* instead of the usual *bhičhu*. *Khema* is a place-name and not = *kṣema*.

ts is preserved in *saṃvatsara*, *vatsa*. It is assimilated in *osuka* = *autsukya*.

A *t* is developed between *m* and *s* or *ś*: *maṃtsa*, *paropiṃtsāmanā* 510 = *paropahimsamāna*. Similarly in the Dh.p. (printed *ns* by Senart): *satsara*, *ahitsai* A⁴ 8, *bhametsu* B 34. In loan-words in Saka: *saṃtsāra*.

mś becomes *mc* (i.e. *ntś*) in *saṃcaya* 31 = *saṃśaya* 'doubt'. The same form occurs in the Tocharian loan-word *sañce*.

Konow (*B.S.O.S.* vi, 465 ff.) wants to read *ts* as *tś*, both original *ts* in *saṃvatsara* and when it has developed as in *saṃtsara*. But it is difficult to see how this would differ from *c*, and in fact when *saṃśaya* develops into *saṃtsaya* it is written *saṃcaya* in 31. In 283, however, we find *saṃśaya*.

§ 49. Groups with initial sibilant.

śc is preserved in the form *č*: *pača*, *niče*, *kači*.

šk becomes *śg* in *muṣgeṣu* (Skt. *muṣka-*), *Puṣgariyade*. In *muṣka* 565 = *mūṣikā*, where the *šk* has arisen more recently by the dropping of the vowel, it is preserved. The etymology and meaning of *haṣga* are uncertain. *truṣga* 581 seems to be made up of the prefix *dur-* and Iranian *huṣka* 'dry' (or read *vuṣga*).

More remarkable, initial *sk* seems to become *śg* in *śgabhanāe* 'to prop' 586. The *śg* might have originated in forms of the verb compounded with a preposition. The treatment is confined to the language of the documents. In Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from N.W. India we find forms like *pukarini*=*puṣkarinī*, and in the Dh.p. we find *puṣkara* (see Konow, *C.I.I.* II, p. cix). Exceptions are *nīkhal-* 'remove'=*niṣkal-* and *śuka* (*śukha*) if that=*śuṣka* 'dry'; *nikasta* 'went away' is probably=*niṣ-kas*. In the two last words the aspiration is almost always dropped.

st is preserved as a rule except sometimes in forms of $\sqrt{sthā}$: *asti*, *hastā*, *astarana*, *vistara*, *viśvasta*, *grihasta*.

$\sqrt{sthā}$ appears either as *stā* or *thā*, never *sthā*, e.g. *stasyati*, *stavidavo*, *stidaḡa*, *thanammi*, *thavaṃnae*, *thūda*, *vithida*. *aṭhi* 'bone' for *asthi* appears with the cerebral, as in the other Prakrits (Pischel, § 308).

ṣṭ is always assimilated to *ṭh* (*ṭ*): *aṭa*, *aṭha*, *avaṣiṭha*, *kaniṭhaḡa*, *goṭha*, *jeṭha*, *uṭa*, *praṭha*. *kāṣṭha* becomes *kaṭha* in 511, and in 422 *uṭha* is written for usual *uṭa*. The value of *ṭha* is doubtful, but it is usually consistently separated from *ṭh*. It would seem to stand for *ṣṭh* also in *kūṭhācchira*.

In *prasamṭhita* 511 and *vaṭhayaḡa* if that=*upasthāyaka* it represents *sth*; cf. Saka *vaṭhāyaa*.

In *aṭhovaē* it seems to stand for *rth* (cf. § 37).

ṣp is preserved in *puṣpa* 'flower'.

śm becomes *m* in *maṣu* 'beard'.

sm becomes *m* in locatives in *aṃmi*, *amahu* 'of us'. It is preserved in *vismaridaḡa* 'forgot'. This treatment of *sm* was by no means general in the North-West. It also tended to develop into *sv*, which might further be assimilated into *ss* or become *sp*. We find locatives in *-asi* in Aśoka and later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions (Konow, *C.I.I.* II, p. cxi).

Locatives in *-aspi* are confined to Aśoka. In the Dh.p. we find *sm*, *sv*, *s*, e.g. *anusmaro*, *asmi*, *svadi* A² 5, *pratisvado* A² 9. *s* in locatives in *-asa* for *-asi*: *asmi loke parasa ca*, etc.

sn is preserved in the form *ś* in *śana* 647, etc.

śn is preserved in the form *ś*: *tuṣi*, *kṛṣaḡa*, etc.

śl becomes *l* in *leṣiṣamti*, which according to Prof. Thomas is from *śliṣ*.

śv becomes *śp* (printed *ñs*) in *aśpa* 'horse', *śpedaśa* 'white'; *śv* is preserved in writing in *viśvasta*. Similarly in native names we find *Leśpanna* written side by side with *Leśvañna*. The same change occurs in the Dh.p. *viśpasa*, *viśpa*, and in Saka loan-words *viśpasta*, *Viśpaśarmā* n.pr.

sv becomes *śv* in *śvasu* 'sister', *śvastiñhemena*. This *śv* further develops into *śp* in *priyaśpasuae* 317. Compare Kalasha *iśpośi* = *svaśrīya*, Garwi *iśpo* 'sister'. *sv* is always preserved in *svayam*, *sveya*, *sve* 'self', and we find *svasti* written as well as *śvasti*. This development does not take place in the case of *śva-* or *śvā-*. Instead we find *śp* in *śpeṭha* (title) beside *śvṛeṭha*, *śparna* beside *svarna* and *śvarna*.

The *śp* is also developed out of *sp(h)* in *parospara* 'one another', *śpara*, *śpura* = Iranian (*u*)*spurra* 'complete', and *śpaśa*, which may be connected with the Iranian \sqrt{spas} 'to keep watch', *Tamaspa* n.pr. This *śp* appears as *sv* in *svaśavannīye* 471.

§ 50. Miscellaneous.

In *aśimatra* = *adhimātrā* we find a quite unexplained ξ (= ε) for *dh*. A similar change seems to have taken place in *masu* = *madhu* 'wine', cf. Lüders, 'Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises', *S.P.A.W.* (1933), p. 5. For further examples inside India, cf. Prof. Thomas in *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 791.

v is represented by *m* regularly in *gameṣ-* = *gaveṣ-* 'to seek', *ema* = *evam*. Further *āmeñhitā* in the Dh.p. verses 510; *cimara* 149 may = *cīvara*. The phenomenon also appears in the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.p. *bhamanai* = *bhāvanāya*, *nāma* = *nāvam* and in Apabhramśa (Pischel, § 261).

For *śithila* besides *śitila* there is a form *śisila*, which seems to be due to some kind of assimilation.

In 510 *dilicā* = *titikṣa*. The change *t* (*d*) to *l* seems to be due to dissimilation. The change *d* to *l* is not uncommon in the modern North-West languages (Grierson, *Torwali*, p. 14, e.g. *talā* = *tadā*). In 565 *triñca* is probably the same word, with dissimilation into *r*.

Tim̐pura and *drim̐pura* = *Tāmbūla* quite irregularly, as is natural in a word borrowed from the vernaculars; cf. Pkt. *simbali* = *śālmali*.

DECLENSION

§ 51. The declensional system is considerably modified, compared with the literary Prakrits. As in Apabhraṃśa there is no distinction between nominative and accusative. The instrumental tends to be confused with the nominative. The neuter is lost. Feminines, except proper names and words denoting living creatures, are transferred to the *a*-declension. Except for these feminines that survive there is only one declension, the *a*-declension, nouns in *-i*, *-u*, *-ṛ*, etc. being adapted to it by the addition of *-a*.

§ 52. The case terminations are:

	Sing.	Pl.
Nom. Acc.	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i> sometimes <i>-e</i>
Instr.	<i>-ena</i>	<i>-ehi</i>
Dat.	<i>(-ae aya)</i>	
Abl.	<i>-ade (āde)</i>	
Gen.	<i>-aṣa (asya)</i>	<i>-ana (-anaṃ, -ānāṃ)</i>
Loc.	<i>-aṃmi</i> , occasionally <i>-e</i>	<i>-eṣu</i>

§ 53. **Sing. Nom. Acc.** The *-a* of the nominative accusative is the original accusative. Final *-aṃ* became *-a*, as in the Gen. Pl. *-ana*, whereas *-as* became *-e* (§ 12). The nominative must have originally been *-e* in the dialect, but such forms as do occur are merely irregularities of spelling, e.g. *durbhale* 40, *pačevare* 164, *parikreya* 401. Compare *avaše* 345, 437 for *avaša* = *avaśyam*.

A nominative accusative sign in *-o* occurs sometimes. Regularly in the case of gerundives: *dadavo*, *kartavo*. Forms in *-avya* and *-avo* are used side by side indiscriminately. The former is presumably due to Sanskritising. Possibly *-aṃ* became *-o* after *v*, instead of *-a*, as elsewhere. We also find *jivo*, and *tuvām* 'thou' becomes *tuo*. Other forms in *-o* occur sporadically which cannot be so explained. They are probably due to the influence of Sanskrit or another Prakrit: *laṃgho* 'lame' 106, *arogīyo* 161 (usually *arogī*), *vartamano* 164 (usually *vartamana*), *prathamadaro* 165, *rajadaro* 579, *ekaḡo* 296, *grahito* 359, *jivamto* 646, *putro*, *praputro*, *ṇatiyo* 437 (but see Index, s.v.). Further forms which frequently have *-o* are *aprameyo* and *aprameḡo*, *namakero*

=*namaskārya*, *manasikaro*. As a variant of *-o* we find *-u* in *toṣu* 373 = *doṣaṃ*.

The suffix *-āga* tends to become *-ae* in the nominative accusative (§§ 8, 16): *kiṭae*, *ditae*, *giṭae*, *thavastae*, *namatae*. *-āge* in *culāge* 117 = Pali *cullaka* is presumably just a way of writing *-āye*, *-ae* (cf. § 16). Occasionally this *-ae* is further modified into *-e*: *spāṣavanne* 'scout' = *spāṣavannae* (*āga*), *bhātare* 'master' 147, *aṭhove* 'serviceable' 367 = *aṭhovae*, *-āga*, *kuḍe* 164 = *kuḍāga* 'boy', *namate* 476 = *namatae* 'cloth', *ṣune* 17 = *ṣunaka* 'dog', *vathāye* 189 = *vathāyāga*.

§ 54. **Sing. Instr.** The instrumental presents no remarkable features. It probably never becomes *-ina* (cf. § 1) except in pronominal forms: *tiṃna*, *kiṃna*. *Parihaṣina* 279 can alternatively be read *parihaṣena*. Nor does it ever appear shortened to *-em*.

§ 55. **Sing. Dat.** Except in infinitives the dative is rare. It had obviously died out in the popular speech. We find *poṣathakāmaya* in 489 *yo bhicchu poṣathakāmaya nanuvarteyati*, 'Whichever monk shall not conform to the rite of fasting', which is obviously imitated from the language of the religious texts. Also one or two compounds with *-artha*: *prahuḍarthaya* 'for the sake of a present', *maghalartaya* 221 'for the sake of good luck'; *°artha* and *°artha* are used in the same way. *prahuḍartha*, *khadaṃnarthi* 212, *pumñānthi* 345. *avamicae* 'on loan' is probably = *apamityaka*, *āpamityaka* (*Arthaśāstra*, II, 13. 1, 6) rather than *apamityāya*.

§ 56. **Sing. Abl.** is always in *-ade* = Pkt. *-āo*: *goṭhade*, *nagarade*, *bhumade*, *Caḍodade*, *Calmadanade*, etc. The long *a* is sometimes expressed: *Nināde* 637, *Puṣṅariyāde* 660. There are no forms in *-ama* = *asmāt*. The words *avasama* and *hastama* are nominative singulars (see Index, s.v.).

§ 57. **Sing. Gen.** The genitive is in *-aṣa*, perhaps = *-aza*, cf. § 22. But it is never found written *-ajha*; *-aṣya* is often restored in writing through the influence of Sanskrit: *Lpimsuasya* 163, *Tamjakasya* 541, *Kolṭiṣasya* 159, etc.

§ 58. **Sing. Loc.** The usual ending is *-aṃṃi*: *avānaṃṃi*, *kalaṃṃi*, *ḥhunaṃṃi*, *rayadvaramṃi*, *goṭhamṃi*, *thanaṃṃi*, *has-taṃṃi*, *dīvasaṃṃi*, *hemaṃṃi*, etc.

-e occurs in *saṃvatsare*, *maṣe*, *divāse* used in dating formulas, elsewhere very rarely: *haste* 117, 140; *-i*: *rayadvare* 46. (This may be adjectival, § 75.)

The non-Indian *saste* 'day' forms a locative in *sastehi* 442-656. The same form occurs in Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from N.W. India.

It is also inflected in the usual way: *sasteyamṃi* 329, etc. *tivasehi* 655 is written on the analogy of *sastehi*.

§ 59. **Pl. Nom. Acc.** There is no distinction between the nominative and the accusative plural. They are usually identical in form with the nominative accusative singular. Thus *-a* 46: *mahatva vivada pruchitaṃṃi* 'The magistrates examined the dispute', 506 *ede śramaṃṃa*, etc.; in *-ae*: 293 *avi ca yo paraṣitae Caḍotiye* 'The Caḍotans who were carried off', *Koḡitasasaṃṃi Supiye gadaya maṃṃtreti* 'He says the Supis have come to K.', 506 *ede śramaṃṃa Kuhaniyāde na aidaē huaṃṃi* 'These śramanas have not come from the capital'; *-āga*: 180 *poṭaḡa dui mṛtaṃṃi* 'two young (animals) died', 27 *catu kiṣoraḡa* 'four colts'. Gerundives in *-o*: *ede uṭa cavala Lṗipeyaṣa hastaṃṃi Calma-danaṃṃi viṣajidavo* 'These camels must quickly be sent to C. in the hand of Lṗipeya', etc.

§ 60. There is a plural in *-e* which is regularly employed in the case of the suffix *-i* and the native suffix *-emci*, *-imci*. Examples: *rajiye jaṃṃa* 272 (Acc.), *gramiye* 271, *Caḍotiye* 326, *kilmeciye* 'belonging to the district of', 152, 271, etc., *Yave-avānemciye* 401, *klasemciye* (a kind of official) 562, *Saciṃciye* 160, *seniye* 'soldiers', 1. 397, 478, *Supiye* 109, 119, etc. **vani* out of *vaṃṃi* forms its plural in the same way, *vaniye agamiṣyati* 35. This plural is not applied indiscriminately to all bases in *-i*. We never find **saḥiye* for instance as plural of *saḥi* 'witness' but *saḥi* according to the general rule. Similarly *gavi* = 'cow' and 'cows'.

Sometimes we find *-i* in the plural instead of *-iye*, following the general rule, e.g. 305 *Calmataṃci aṃṃa darṣitaṃṃi* 'The

people of C. packed the corn', *Tsegeci* 505, *kilmeci* 632, *raji jamna* 272 side by side with *rajiye jamna*; also 639 *yatha atra ogu ajhurakaša kilmeci Caḍotiye imade gachamti* 'That there the Caḍotans belonging to the district of the *ogu* Ajhuraka go from here', 32 *tatra bahove Caḍoti Parvatiye sacchi* 'There many Caḍotans from the mountains are witnesses'. The last two examples are illustrative of the rule that of nouns and adjectives in apposition only the last is inflected. Similarly *Kroraimci mamnušana* 370.

There is a plural *-iya* (= *i*, § 9) in 324 *Supiya... agatamti* 'The Supi's came'.

Other plurals in *-e* occur without it being possible to make any definite rules. Most commonly when preceded by *r*: *goṭhadare* 362, 371, 475, 506, 528, 735, *draṅghadhare* 'officials' 554, *draṅghadhare* 107, *lehare* 'letter carriers' 109, 376, *bhradare* 195, *prahare* 'blows' 209, 462, etc. (also *prahara* 187, 204).

The plural *avaśiṭhe* 'remaining' is always in *-e*. Similarly *siṭhe* 305, 519.

Further examples are *uṭavale* 562 (side by side with *uṭavala*), *thamavaṃte* 468, *mahaṃte* 160, *bahove camme* 180 (= *j-* 'young ones'), *vr̥dhe* 326, *śadavide* 580, *kilane* 'sick' 414, *nave* 338, *padatale (namasyati)* 696, *khaṃje* ('lame?') 156, *mamnuše* (Acc.) 130.

The *-e* is now and again written *-eya*: *śpaśavaṃneya* 522, *mahatveya* 580, *rajadareya* 582.

Instead of *-e*, *-i* is sometimes written: *avaradhi* 358, *cori* 676, *avaśiṭhi* 63, *śarvi* 279, *mahaṃti* 303, *bahuvi* 351, *yatmi* (kind of official) 349, *purimi* 140.

§ 61. Traces of the neuter plural in *-āni* occur rarely, chiefly in introductory formulas of which the style tends to be influenced by Sanskrit, e.g. *bahukoḍiśatasahasrani*, *rajakaryani* 272, *śadani* 133, *karyani* 161; *vaḍaviyani* 212 looks like the erroneous application of this termination to a feminine stem.

§ 62. Plurals which have nothing to correspond to them in Prakrit occur in *-amca* and *-eyu*.

(a) The plural in *-amca* was pointed out by Prof. Thomas in *J.R.A.S.* (1927), p. 544. Examples: *aśpaṃca* 387, 681, *śaḍaṃca*

85, *dajhaṃca* 133, *paṭaṃca* 660, *bhumaṃca* 366, 713, *uṭaṃca* 681, *uṭaca* (with omission of *anusvāra*) 387, *mahaṭvaṃca* 696, *paśumaṃca* 683.

(b) The native word *pake* (= ?) forms its plural in *pakeyu*. These two forms are explained out of Tocharian in *J.R.A.S.* (1935), p. 673.

§ 63. The Pl. Instr. Abl. *-ehi* is rarely met with: *putra-dhidarehi* (*śadha*) 450, *sarvehi śadena bhavidavya* 702. There is no certain instance of its being used in an ablative sense. At 12 *taḡastehi varidavo* it might be an ablative, only the meaning of *taḡasta* is quite unknown.

§ 64. Pl. Gen. *bhratarana*, *cojhoana*, *paśavana*, *manuśana*, etc. The sign of length is sometimes written *°śatāyukāna* 399, *cojhoāna* 107. Under the influence of Sanskrit we find it written *-ānām*, *bhratarānām* 162 and *-anām*, *bhaṭaraḡanām* 140, 162, *°pramananām* 140, *priyadarśananām* 126, 140, *saṃpujitanām* 140, 162, *cojhoanām* 576.

§ 65. The Pl. Loc. presents no abnormal features: *uṭiyeṣu*, *goṭheṣu*, *draṃgeṣu*, *nagareṣu*, *nimaṃtreṣu*, *paśuvēṣu*, *parvateṣu*, *prṭheṣu*, *muṣḡeṣu*.

§ 66. Their knowledge of Sanskrit has induced the writers to put in a dual occasionally: *padebhyaṃ* (Dat.) 288 with the *e* of the plural, *patayo* 722, *padayo* 34, 97, 133, *pādeyo* 498 = *pādayoh*.

§ 67. Except for words denoting living creatures old feminines tend to be transferred to the *a*-declension. Examples: *ratraṃmi* 415 'by night', *velaṃmi* 637; *simammi* 163, 367 may be from *simā-* or *śīman-*; *devataṣa*, *śiḡataṃmi* 576. Similarly feminines in *-i*: *priṭiyena*, etc. (§ 70).

The feminine terminations occur sometimes as well: *ratriyae* 370, *vela velaya* 'from time to time' 358, 371, *paṭimadiṣaya* 90 side by side with *purvadiṣade*.

The form is always used in *dutyae* = **dūtyayā* in the phrase *dutyae gam-* 'to go as an envoy', and more commonly in *ajeṣamnae* = *adhyeṣanayā* 'at the request of' (also *ajeṣamnena*). Preservation is to be expected in fixed formulas.

§ 68. The suffix *-ī* has become the sign of the feminine. Of old feminines in *-ā* only *bharya* 'wife' is regularly retained as a feminine; Nom. Acc. *bharya*, Instr. Gen. Loc. *bharyae*. No plural forms are found. The only feminine from which quite a number of inflected forms occur is *uṭi* 'a female camel'. The forms are Nom. Acc. *uṭi*, Gen. Instr. Loc. *uṭiae*, Nom. Pl. *uṭi*, Gen. Pl. *uṭiyāna*, Loc. Pl. *uṭiyeṣu*. As will be seen the masculine forms are attached in the plural. Other nouns in *-ī* are *stri* (*striae*, *strie*, *striyana*), *bhaṭariyae* 756, *vaḍavi* 'mare', *vaḍaviyae* 600, *vaḍaviyana* 600, *kuḍi*, *kuḍiyae* 'girl', *devi*, *deviyae*, *dajhi* 'slave-girl', *mahuli*, *prithivi*. From adjectives and participles the feminine is always in *-ī* where Sanskrit and Prakrit have *-ā*. There is a similar tendency in Apabhraṃśa. Examples: *uniti* = *unnītā*, *gilani* 'sick', *ṣpeti* 'white'. The *-ī* is perhaps partly out of *-ikā*, cf. § 16.

Feminine nouns in *-ṛ* are adapted to this declension, e.g. Nom. Acc. *madu*, Gen. etc. *maduae*, *śvasu*, *priyaśpasuae* 316, *dhitu*, *dhitue* 416. In the dvandva *putradhidarehi* 450 there is a different treatment.

Instead of *-ae* the genitive is sometimes in *-e* in nouns ending in *-i* and *-u*, e.g. *strie* 209, *madue* 450, *dhitue* 416. This is due to analogy, *strie* is to *stri* as *bharyae* is to *bharya*. But compare also the similar treatment of the suffix *-ae* (§ 53), which cannot be explained in this way.

§ 69. Feminine proper names are distinguished from ordinary nouns in that the *-ae* of the oblique cases is transferred to the nominative, so that there is no distinction of case at all, e.g. 39 *yatha edeṣa dajhi Cimikae nama* 'They have a slave-girl called Cimika'.

Nominatives in *-a* are found rarely: 415 *sa striya Tsina*; *Sarpina* 279, *Supriya* 621, *Konuma* 46. Very rare is the nominative in *-ae* other than in proper names: 157 *mahi bharya... jivamṭiyae asti*.

As a result of this we even once or twice find genitives in *-aeṣa*: *Suḡaeṣa* 117, *Cataroyaeṣa* 399.

The *-ae* is appended to native names in *-o*: *Kuviṅṅoae*, *Kacoeae*, *Kroae*, *Camoae*, *Pitoae*, *Yaśoae*, *Laroae*, etc.

Corresponding to genitives like *strie*, *madue*, we find nominatives in *-oe*: *Koloe*, *Camtanoe*, *Tsordhoe*, *Pitoe*, *Suġoe*. Similarly *Sarvaśrre*. Conversely we find *-aae* on the analogy of *-oae*: *Cakwáaae* 279, *Tilutamaae*, *Namilgaae*, *Puñalajhaae*, *Lpīpimtsaae*, *Saġanāpaae*, *Saġapcaae*, *Sarpīśaae*, *Salwáaae*. Or we may be dealing with native bases on *-ā* to which the termination was added, as always in native bases like *Yāśo-ae*, *Lpīpe-yaśa*.

§ 70. Nouns in *-i* are transferred to the *a*-declension by appending the terminations *-āsa*, *-ena*, etc. to the stem in *-i*. Nom. *-i*, Instr. *-iyena*, Gen. *-iyaśa*, Loc. *-iyaṃmi*, Nom. Pl. *-i*, Gen. Pl. *-iyana*, Loc. Pl. *-iyeṣu*. Nouns originally in *-in*, e.g. *sačhi*, are treated in the same way. The nominative accusative (singular and plural) may also be written *-iya* though less frequently. The genitive singular may be *-iśa* (as in Pali and Prakrit), but in the other cases the fuller forms are always used. Examples: *palḥi* (= *bali*), *palḥiyaśa* 725, *palḥiśa* 162, 508, *palḥiyena* 42, *diḥi* (Nom. Pl. measure of length), *khi* (Nom. Sing. and Pl.; also *khiyi* 186), *Samgaracḥisya* n.pr., *sačhi*, *sačhiyena*, *sačhiyana*. Originally feminine: *pṛiti*, *pṛitiyena*, *anatiyade* (cf. the treatment of nouns in *-ā*, § 67). Occurring only in the nominative: *prahuni* ('garment'), *salī* 'brother-in-law' (but Skt. *syāla-*), *vacari* ('jar?'), *mukeṣi*, *viṃṇāti*, *samṇāti*, *pravṛti*.

Nouns originally in *-ya*, *-iya* are not distinguishable from nouns in *-i*: *mulī*, *muliyena*, *muliyammi*, *aśiyade*, *arogī*, *Dhamāpṛi*, etc. Similarly *-īya* in *biti* '2nd', *bitiyaśa* and *bitiśa*. The proper name *Samgaśri* makes its genitive *Samgaśriśa* in 419 (i.e. *Samgaśriśa*, cf. § 5).

§ 71. Nouns in *-u* are treated in exactly the same way as those in *-i*. Examples: *masu* 'wine', *maswéna*, *masuśa*, *masusya*, *masuaśa*, *masuammi*; *vasu* (a title), Gen. Pl. *vasuana*, *vaswéna*; *bhīčhu*, *bhīčhusya*; *hetu*, *hetwéna*. Only in Nom. Acc.: *lahu*, *vastu*, *tanu* 'own', *manyu*, *vačhu* (= ?). The nominative is never extended to *-wá*, as *-i* to *-iya*. The genitive in *-usya* is much more frequent than *-uaśa*. The word *paśu* preserves some old forms. Quite according to type are Gen. Sing. *paśuśa*, Loc. Pl.

paśuveṣu 568. But we find *paśava* in the Nom. Pl. (*paśu* is also plural 519)=*paśavaḥ*, whence further a Gen. Pl. is formed, *paśavana* 315, 584. *paśuna* 725 seems to be a Nom. Pl., cf. also *paśunaṃca*, § 62; *bahu* is sometimes plural, e.g. 430, but it also makes its plural in *bahuṃ* (*vi*) presumably out of *bahave*=*bahavaḥ*, with the *-u* from the singular. But perhaps the analogy of *sarve* is responsible for the *-e* here, since we never find **paśave*.

§ 72. Other bases. On feminines in *-ṛ* see § 68. From *pitṛ* we have Nom. Acc. Sing. *pita*, more usually *pitū*, Gen. *pitusya* 109 (text *-vya*), Nom. Pl. *pitara*. From *bhrāṭṛ*, Nom. Acc. *bhrata* and *bhratu*, Nom. Pl. *bhatara* and *bhratare*, Gen. Pl. *bhatarana*, *bhratuana* 157, *priyabhratre* 159 (case?); *priyajamata*. There are no agent nouns in *-ṭṛ*.

From *-an* bases *taḥṣan* 'a carpenter' is expanded into *taḥṣaṃna*. Usually the *-n* is simply dropped and they are inflected as *-a* bases. *mahatva* 'magistrate'=*mahātma*, Gen. *mahatvaṣa*. Neuters: *bhuma*, *-aṣa*, *-aṃmi*; *śirṣa*, *śirṣaṣa* (589, cf. the proper names in *-aṣa*, § 73); *namena*; *ṣoathakāṃaya*.

-ant bases are enlarged to *-aṃta* except *mahā-* in compounds, *maharaya*, *mahacojḥbo* 259 beside *mahaṃta cojḥbo* 161, etc. Examples: *mahaṃtaṣa*, *jayaṃta* 'victorious', *jayaṃtaṣa*, *araḥaṃta*, *Puṃṇavaṃta*, *Viryavaṃda*.

Śiraṣa in the phrase *śiraṣa viṃṇavemi* is an isolated example of the consonantal declension, no doubt due to the influence of Sanskrit. We get the regular treatment in *manasaṃmi*; *manasiyaṃmi* 399 is a result of confusion between *manasi* and *manasaṃmi*.

From *śarat* we have Loc. *śarataṃmi* 'in Autumn'.

Dhanuṣ 'bow' is declined as a *-u* base: *dhammuena* 190.

§ 73. Native names (and words) are treated in the same way as Prakrit words in *-i*, *-u*; e.g. in *-i*, *-u*: *Caḍhi*, *Caḍhiya*, *Caḍhiyaṣa*, *Tami*, *Tamiyaṣa*, *Piḍi*, *Piḍiṣa*, *Samghuti*, *Samghutiṣa*, *Suḍi*, *Suḍiya*, *Suḍiyaṣa*, *Suḍiṣa*, *Suḍiyena*, *Yonu*, *Yonuṣa*, *Yonuṣaṣa*, *Lpimsu*, *Lpimsuṣaṣa*, *Larsu*, *Larsua*, *Larsuaṣa*, *Larsuṣa*. Similarly in *-o* and *-e*: *Tamcgo*, *Tamcgoṣa*, *cojḥbo*, *cojḥboṣa*, *cojḥboana*, *Cgito*, *Cgitoena*, *Cgitoyena*. In names in *-e* the extended form *-eya* of the nominative is more common than

the simple *-e*: *Lpipeya* and *Lpipe*. That is no doubt because in the Prakrit they wrote *parikreya ničeya*, etc. for what they pronounced (and sometimes wrote) *parikre niče*. No doubt *Lpipe* is the real native form. Examples: *Maṣḍhige*, *-eya*, *-eyaṣa*, *-eyena*, *Caule*, *Cauleya*, *Cauleṣa*, *Parsuḡe*, *-eya*, *-eyaṣa*, *-eṣa*. As in nouns in *-i*, *-u* shorter forms occur for the genitive: *-eṣa*, *-oṣa*, *-iṣa*, *-uṣa*, beside *-eyaṣa*, etc., but not for the other cases. Names in *-a* declined *-aena*, *-aaṣa*, etc. possibly contain long *ā* (cf. feminines in *-a*, *-ae*, § 69): *Cācāṣa*, *Cramaena*, *Tamḡaṣa*, *-aena*, *Tamaṣpaṣa*, *Tuṣanaṣa*, *Tsuḡeṣlaṣa*, *Motekaṣa*, *Śakaṣa*.

SUFFIXES

§ 74. The suffix *-ka* is very common in the form *-aḡa*, *-ae* (§ 8): *bhaṭaraḡa* 'master', *pravannaḡa* 'document', *saṃvat-saraḡa* (100), *kālaḡa* 86, *kiśoraḡa* 'colt', *poṭaḡa* 'young animal', *kuḍaḡa* 'boy', *phaliṭaḡa* 214, *parivanae* 214 (*paribhāṇḍaka?*), *tāvastaḡa*, *thavastae* 'carpet', *thavannae* ('cloth'), *namatae* (coat or cloth), *tanuvaḡa*, *-ae* 'own'.

Adjectives: *ṣpedaḡa* (*ṣveta*), *coṭhaḡa* (*coḡṣa* 'clean'), *puranaḡa*, *satavarsḡa*, *trevarsḡa*, etc., *kaniṭhaḡa*, *dharamnaḡa* 'owing a debt', *avamicae* 'on loan', *jivaṃdaḡa* 'alive', *culaḡe* (cf. § 53) = *cullaka*. In words of obscure origin: *kicamaḡa* 'due, owing' (of tax, etc.), *laṃcaḡa* 'proper, properly'.

The feminine corresponding to *-aḡa* is *-i* (= *ikā*): *ṣpedaḡa*: *ṣpeti*, *bhaṭaraḡa*: *bhaṭari*, *jivaṃdaḡa*: *jivaṃti*, *kuḍaḡa*: *kuḍi*.

When added to past participles in *-ta* they have a passive meaning, while the simple *-ta* is used as the 3rd person of the preterite: *dita* 'he gave', *ditaḡa*, *ditae* 'given'.

The form *-ae* for *-aḡa* is much commoner in participles than elsewhere.

§ 75. The suffix *-i*. Adjectives are made from nouns by substituting *-i* for the *-a* of the nominative accusative: *Caḍoti* 'belonging to C.', *Khotamni*, *Parvati*, *saṃvatsari palṭi* 'the year's tax', *masuṃi ṣoṭhaṃga* 272 'The *ṣoṭhaṃga* (an official) connected with *masu* (wine)', *ghriti paṣu*, *caḡali paṣu* 613 'small cattle consisting of goats', *goṭhi kāmā* 298, *rayadvāri mahatva* 46, *upaṣaṃghi śrava* 139, *paruvarṣi* 'belonging to last year', *para-*

rivarṣi 'belonging to the year before last', *catuvarṣi* and *caura varṣi* 'four years old', *vatsiya* 'possessing a calf' (*gavi*) 676.

The *-i* is derived from *-ika*; the guttural was weaker in suffixes than elsewhere and would disappear (§ 16): *saṃvatsari palṣi* = *sāṃvatsariko baliḥ*. Such forms were originally vṛddhied, but vṛddhi has died out in the language except for one or two stereotyped or borrowed forms: *vevatuḡa* 'an object of (legal) dispute'.

§ 76. A suffix *-tra* is used three or four times to make abstracts from agent nouns: *brahmacaritra* (*-ṭa*) 399, *kāmakaritra* (*-ṭa*) 106, 130, *kriṣivatra* 'cultivation' (from *kriṣīva-la* or = *kriṣivaptra*, cf. Index).

Formed with the same suffix is *jañātra*. It is used in the phrases *jaññātrena dā-*, *anī-* which seem to mean 'give, take in marriage', e.g. 21 *taṃ kalammi eṣa Cato śramana Sundaraṣa dhitu Supriya nama bharya anita caññātrena* 'At that time this śramana Cato took as wife the daughter of Sundara called Supriya, *caññātrena*'. The sense seems to require 'with the proper marriage ceremony, in legal marriage' or something like that. There is considerable difficulty in establishing a uniform reading, but *tra* seems to be the best attested. We find 474 *jañātriyena* v.l. *jaññāvīyena*, 418 *jañātōena* v.l. *jañātrena*, 555 *jañātrena* v.l. *jañāvēna*, 621 *caññātrena*.

§ 77. Native suffixes. *-e(ṃ)ci*, *-i(ṃ)ci*, *-ci* is used in making adjectives from place-names: *avānaṃci*, *Kroraiṃci*, *Caḍodeṃci*, *Calmataṃci*, *Calmadanēṃci*, *Tsakēṃci*, *Ninaṃci*, *Potḡeci* *Bha-(tsa-)gaseṃci*, etc. Native words: *kilmēṃci* 'belonging to the district of', *klaṣēṃci* (some kind of official). It is rarely applied to Prakrit words: *paṃthaci masu* 637, *simici mahatva* 436.

-ina appears commonly in native words: *cuṡalaina* (title), *cilaṃdhina* 'shared', *paṃcaraina*, *acoviṃna*, *koyimamḍhina* (an official connected with corn).

PRONOUNS

§ 78. First Person.

SING. NOM. *ahu*. The explanation of the *-u* is difficult; *-am* usually becomes *-a*. We also find *-u* instead of *-a* in the Gen. Pls. *amahu* and *tumahu*.

aham is also written quite commonly, which is of course Sanskritising. Also *ahum* (*apya*) 399.

ACC. not found.

GEN. DAT. *mahi* (= *mahyam*), *mama*, 161. Elsewhere *mama* is used as Nom. or Acc., e.g. 139 *mama arogemī* 'I am well', 524 *yatha mama Śristeyaśa paride srutemi* 'As I have heard from Śriste', 164 *iśa mama prochanti* 'Here they ask me'.

INSTR. *maya* 16, 328, 331, 661. At 329 it is used as Gen.: *maya maharayaśa padamulammi*.

LOC. not found. *mayi* 661 = *mahi* (cf. § 28).

PL. NOM. *veyam*, *veya*, *vayam*. Acc. not found. Gen. *amahu*, *asmahu* = *asmabhyam*. As in the Nom. Sing. the *-u* is unexplained.

There also occur *asmehi* 370 and *asmabhi* 585; *asmaḡa* 713 = *asmākam*. In 86 we find *asmaḡena: Casminena viśajideśi asmaḡena caragena* 'You have sent Casmina our spy'. The Instr. is often confused with the Nom. Acc. as here, so that *asmaḡena* has nothing to do with the Vedic inflected *asmāka* 'our'. Loc. and Instr. forms do not occur; *asmehi* 370 is Gen. from the context.

§ 79. Second Person.

SING. NOM. *tuo* (Vedic *tuwām*; for the *-o* cf. § 53). *tu* at 63 may be just careless writing.

The form *tuo* is used apparently as an Instr. with gerundives, e.g. 113 *tatra tuo piṭita cita kartavo* 'There by you expressly attention must be made' (cf. Index Verb.). The form *tuo* naturally cannot = *twayā*. On the confusion of Nom. and Instr. cf. § 117.

INSTR. does not occur. *taya* 430 is taken as = *twayā* in the Index Verb. Read probably *tapataya* 'immediately' for *ta(thā)taya*. The Loc. also does not occur. Gen. *tahi* on the analogy of *mahi* = *mahyam* (*tehi dahi*). Also *tusya*, *tuśa* with the nominal

-*syā*. *tusya* is used as a Nom. at 157 *tusya...udaḡa baṃnideṣi* 'you blocked up the water'. *tava* occurs once: 161 *tava paṛide. tomi=tava...mi* (see Index). The enclitic forms *me* and *te* are not used.

PLURAL. Only Gen. forms occur: *tumahu* (cf. *amahu*) with *t-* from the singular as always in Middle Indian. Other forms are *tusmahu*, *tusmaḡa* 399, *tusmakam* 140. The forms are of course artificial, otherwise we should have **tuṣmahu*, etc. Quite isolated is *yusme*: 519 *avi tusya pitu Suḡuta yuṣme agrata uṡa atha aspa pratiṣruta* 'And your father Suguta in front of you promised a camel and a horse'. The reading is not certain: *yusmu* and *yusma* are given as variants.

§ 80. *sa-*, *ta-*.

SING. NOM. Masc. *se* with *-e* regularly developed out of *-as* (§ 12). It is sometimes written *ṣe*, which indicates that the *s* was voiced owing to its being unaccented; *so* occurs rarely, 198, 337. Fem. *sa*; Neut. *taṃ*. Since nouns do not distinguish masculine and neuter *taṃ* is only used when it stands by itself, e.g. 283 *taṃ vismaridavya* 'That must be forgotten'.

ACC. Masc. Fem. Neut. *ta=tam, tām*, e.g. 582 *ta bhuma praceya* 'concerning that land'; 415 *ta striya...aḡajhidamti* 'They carried off that woman'. Unlike nouns the pronoun distinguishes Nom. and Acc. but there are occasional confusions, e.g. 625 *se* is Acc.: *ṣe kuḡaga Lpimiṃmaṣa goṡhade Khotamṃiye paraṣa kritamti* 'The Khotanese carried off that boy from the farm of Lpimiṃna'.

INSTR. Masc. *tena*. Abl. *tade* 140. Usually the form stands by itself=*tataḡ* 'thereupon'; *tasma-* only in *tasmārtha* 'for that reason'.

GEN. *taṣa, tasya*, with suffix *-emi*: *taṣemi* 'of the very...' 491, 578. Fem. *taya*: *tae* 415, *tayā* 383.

LOC. The Loc. seems to be in *te* in the phrases *te bhumaṃmi...eṣvari huda* (222) 586, *te masu ṣaṡammi* 'in that vineyard'; cf. 571, 572, 582, 587, 654, 715. In the phrase *taṃ kalammi*, which occurs frequently, *taṃ* may either be abbreviated out of the Loc. **taṃmi* or it may be a compound=*tatkāle*, which is more probable. Compare also *taṃ karaṃna* 335=*tatkāraṇāt*

(also *tena karaṃṃa*). *tomi*, in 123 *tomi divasaṃmi* is used as the equivalent of the Loc. Sing., otherwise it seems to be = *tava*. *tatra*, *tatreṃi* are used instead of the Loc. Sing., e.g. *tatrimi deśaṃmi* 55, *tatreṃi rajaṃmi* 40.

PL. NOM. ACC. *te*.

GEN. *teṣa*, *teṣaṃ*, with suffix *-emi*: *teṣemi*. Also *tana* 579, 655. *taṣa* 514 is a mixture of *teṣāṃ* and *tāsāṃ*; in *tana* 655 the ordinary nominal termination is used.

LOC. *teṣu*.

§ 81. *eṣa-*, *eta-*.

SING. NOM. *eṣa* for all genders.

ACC. *eda*. *eda* is rarely used as a Nom.: 140 *eda vikridavo*, 309 *eda aṃṃa na anidae* 'this corn has not been brought'. In the phrases *yahi eda kilamudra atra eṣati* 'When this wedge-seal comes there' (*yahi eda anati lekha*... 272) and *eda vivada*... *pruchi-davo* 'This dispute is to be examined' *eda* always occurs and never *eṣa*. On the other hand in the common phrase heading legal documents, *eṣa lekha (lihitaga, pravamaṃga)*... *anada dharidavo* 'This document is to be carefully preserved', *eda* does not occur. So perhaps in *eda kilamudra* and *eda vivada* we have a kind of Tatpuruṣa compound, 'A wedge-seal about this (matter), the dispute about this'.

eṣa is used as an Acc. in 714 *eṣa Tsuḡeta atra viṣajidemi* 'I have sent this Tsuḡeta there', 721 *eṣa Danutreyā atra viṣajidama*.

The pronoun is not inflected in the oblique cases when used attributively, e.g. 52 *eda parikrayade*, 140 *eda karyami*, 255 *eta bhumaṣa*, 431 *eda masuaṣa*, etc.

GEN. Masc. *etaṣa*, *edaṣa* (-*sya*); Fem. *etaya* 331.

PL. NOM. ACC. *ede* for all genders (*ede vadavi* 212). *eda* is plural at 195 *eda bhradare*. As in the singular *ede* is not inflected when used attributively, e.g. 55 *ede khula uṭana*, 310 *ede mamnuṣana*, 187 *ede bhradarana*, etc.

GEN. *edeṣa*, *eteṣa*; *edana* occasionally, 113 (?), 187. In 478 *edeṣana* has a double termination.

§ 82. *i-*, *ima-*,

SING. VOC. *iyo*, *yiyo* (printed *śiśo*, see Index Verb.) = *iyam*. This is more probable than *idaṃ* because intervocalic *d* is not

omitted in the dialect. On the initial *yi-* see § 32. It is not common, being used only in the phrase *iyo (yiyo) pravamṇaga* 'this document'. *itaṃ = idaṃ* is likewise in these phrases *itaṃca lihitiḡa* 355, etc. The *-ca* is always added without having any meaning of its own.

ACC. *ima* 345. *ṣe śramana ima cora maṃṇusa... Larsuaṣa dita* 'The *śramana* gave this thief man to Larsu' 291, 506. The Acc. is not very common. Like *eda*, *ima* is used as a stem form in apposition with oblique cases: 162 *ima varṣami*, 236 *ima śaradaṃmi*. Also in compounds like *imavarṣi* 'this year's'.

PL. NOM. ACC. *ime* 399, *yima* 237.

§ 83. *ka-*.

Only found in the Nom. Masc. *ko*, Neut. *ki*, *kiṃ*. It is not found used as an interrogative but only as a relative = 'whoever', e.g. 209 *ko... pačima amnyatha icheyati karaṃṇae* 'Whoever afterwards should wish to do otherwise', etc.; 541 *kiṃ tade paḍivati siyati* 'Whatever news shall be from there'.

kiṃna, which is Instr. in form, = Pkt. *kiṇa* (cf. Pischel, § 428), is used as a Nom. 609 *kiṃna atra na esati* 'Whoever shall not come there'. It has an interrogative sense in 86 *na taha janami kiṃna pravamṇaga atra giṃnidavo* 'I do not know what document is there to be taken'. This is a case of the usual confusion of Instr. and Nom. Unexplained forms are *kamita*, 169 *kamita maṣa divaṣa ghrida prace anati lekha atra gachiṣati taṃ kala...* 'On whatever month or day a letter of command shall come about the ghee, at that time...' (= *kāmita* 'whatever you please'?), and *kema*, 160 *yo atra kema hasta lekha udaḡa bhiṣaṣa prace... hačhati, taha margidavo* 'Whatever hand-letter may be concerning seed and water, so you must seek'. *kema* seems to = *kači* in the common phrase *yo kači* 'whoever'. Initial *k-* is certainly not different from *k*. All words with initial *k-* are variants of forms with *k* (cf. Index Verb.). *kema* occurs in Apabhraṃśa = *katham*, but that meaning does not suit here.

§ 84. *kaścit ko pi*, etc.

SING. NOM. *kači*, i.e. *kaścī*. Once *koci* 437: 161 *yo tava kači puna isa aḡamiṣyati* 'Whoever shall come...'; 437 *yo ca koci pačima kalaṃmi maṃtra uthaveyati* 'Whoever at a future time shall

upset this ruling'. Neut. *kiñci*: 335 *nevi adehi kiñci śrudama* 'We have not heard anything from there'; 106 *kaññakaritra na kiñci kareti* 'He does not do any work'; 260 *puna vivada kiñci siyati* '(If) again there shall be any dispute'; 31 *yeṣa sañcaya kiñci tatra mañtra siyati* 'Of whom there is doubt (whether) there is any ruling on that point'; 17 *tade kiñci kiñci Maṣḍhige Pḡeya ṣa ca giḍati* 'M. and P. took from that little by little'.

iñci in the phrase *na iñci* 'not at all' (also *ma iñci*) is out of *kiñci*. The omission of the *k* is due to its being attached enclitically to *na* (*ma*). On the liability of *k* to be dropped in certain positions of weak stress cf. § 16.

GEN. *kasya ci*: 709 *na kasyaci mañtra asti*.

PL. NOM. *keci* with the *ē* erroneously adapted from the singular.

kiñca, 377 *na kiñca triṭha* 'nothing has been seen', is perhaps just miswritten for *kiñci*.

kopi occurs only 198 *kopi varaḡa syati so . . . iṣa anidavo*. The text should be read *ko pivaraḡa syati* 'whichever shall be fat'. *kikama* 'whatever' = **kiñ kāmam* in the phrase *kikama karaniya syati* 'whatever is to be done'.

§ 85. *ya-*.

SING. NOM. ACC. *yo* for all genders: 136 *yo aṭhovaḡa palayañnaḡa mañnuṣa siyati* 'What serviceable fugitive man there may be'; 157 *yo mahi bharya iṣa gilani* 'My wife who (was) ill here'; 106 *yo iṣa kaññakaritra vithidaḡa huati* 'The work that has been put off here'; 126 *yo adehi ṣpaṣavamne Paḡo iṣa viṣarjidetu* 'The scout Paḡo whom you sent here'; 140 (*añna*) . . . *yo iṣa paṭichidama* 'The corn which we received here'. *yo* is also occasionally used for the plural: 271 *yo asmahu atra Caḍodañmi kilmeciye, tahi ṣarvabhavena jheniḡa (siy)añti* 'The people of our district who are there in Caḍota, let them be under your care by all means'; 165 *yo puna tahi karyani haḥhañti* 'What affairs of yours shall be again (=in the future)'.

When followed by *ca* we usually have *yañ* instead of *yo*, e.g. 140 *yo añna . . . yañ ca añna*, 370 *yañ ca viññavemi*; 621 *yo puna edaṣa putraḡdhidara yañ ca daṣi* 'What sons and daughters (there are) of him and what slave-girls' (*daṣi* may be either singular or plural).

Occasionally the *ca* has no meaning of its own, e.g. 517 *ede jamna tade omaḡa isa aniṣyatu, yaṃ ca teṣa jamnaṣa siṭha, tuo paḍichīsyatu* ' (If) you bring these people here less (than the proper number), what penalty there is for those people, you will receive it'. Apart from this *yaṃ* is only used in the phrases *yaṃ vela, yaṃ kala, yaṃ kalammi*; compare *taṃ kala, taṃ kalammi* (§ 80).

yo is probably out of *yaṃ*, rather than *yaḥ* or *yad*, because the *yaṃ* is preserved in the combination *yaṃ ca*, where it was treated as in the interior of a word. Final *-am* usually became *-a*. Exceptions have been noticed in the case of *-vam* (§ 53). Perhaps *am* tended to become *o* after *y* too. Compare *iyō = iyam*. Also we find writings such as *arogiyō* 152, etc. beside *arogi*. On the other hand *svayam* always becomes *sveya* or *sve*.

INSTR. *yena* as an adverb = 'so that': 272 *yena raja karyani na iṃci śiśila bhaviṣyanti*.

GEN. *yasya*.

PL. NOM. *ye* (also *yo* above).

GEN. *yeṣa*.

§ 86. *svayam* appears *sveya, sve* 193, *sveyam eva* 22, *svaya* 709.

From *ātman-* we have *apane = atmanah*: 139 *tuo apane acovina paśidavo* 'You must yourself examine the *acovina* (= ?)'. Transferred to the *a*-declension, *apanasya*: 201 *apanasya kritaḡa* 'your own deeds'. But the passage is fragmentary and the reading doubtful.

The old reflexive *tanū-* 'self' has taken on the meaning of 'own'. The meaning belongs properly to the derivative adjective *tanuḡaḡa* 'belonging to the self'. The simple *tanu* is used in the same way, e.g. 165 *tuo ṣoṭhaṃḡa Lṡpipeya tanu goṭhade vyoṣiṣasi* 'You, *ṣoṭhaṃḡa Lṡpipeya*, shall pay it from your own farm'. Most usually, however, *tanu* is a noun meaning 'property': 326 *Kaṃaya ni goṭha ḡrhavaṣa amahu pitupitamaga tanu* 'Kaṃaya's farm and residence are inherited property of us', etc.

Tanuvaka is also found in the inscriptions of N.W. India (Taxila scroll, Kurram). It is preserved in the Dardic languages, e.g. Torwali *tanu* 'own'. Grierson (*Torwali*, § 127) is wrong in explaining it out of *ātman*.

§ 87. Pronouns expressing quantity are *keti*=Pkt. *kettiya* (Pischel, § 153). It is used in relative clauses, e.g. 17 *Maṣḍhiḡe Pḡeya ṣa ca śavatha śavidavya, keti edeṣa siyaṃti* 'M. and P. must swear on oath (stating) how many they have'; 73 *eda paḷḷi, keti viṭhidaḡa siyati... iṣa viṣajidavo* 'This tax, however much has been held back, must be sent here'.

eti=*ettiya*: 439 *pruchidavo bhutartha eṣa eti draṃga dharidae siyati* 'It must be enquired whether he has really held so many offices'. Skt. *tati* occurs once in the compound *tativarsi*: 570 *garbhini uṭi bhāgena kirsoṣa uṭi tativarṣi Śaraṣenaṣa vyōṣidavo* 'Śaraṣena must pay back, in place of the pregnant female camel, a *kirsoṣa* (=?) female camel of as many years old'. With *-drṣ* are formed *etriṣa*, *ketriṣa* and *yadrṣa*. The *e-* instead of Sanskrit *i-* is the usual thing in Middle Indian (Pischel, § 121).

§ 88. Adjectives declined pronominally are *aṃṇā*: Gen. Sing. *aṃṇāṣa* or *aṃṇīṣya*, Pl. *aṃṇē*. Gen. *aṃṇēsa*, *aṃṇēṣana* 690 (cf. *edeṣana*, § 81), *aṃṇāno va* 590, *aṃṇāmaṃṇāna* 357='one another'; *pareṣa* 509, 713; *parosṣarasya*, *parosṣarena* 'one another'; *eka*, *ekīṣya* 272; *eke* 'some' 468; *ṣarvi* 'all'; *-i* is always used, not *-e*, in the Nom. Pl. Gen. Pl. *sarvina* 431-2. The same form occurs in the Wardak vase. Instr. *sarvehi* 702.

NUMERALS

§ 89. Figures are usually employed, but now and again the numerals, sometimes as well as the figures. The numerals that occur are:

1. *eka*, i.e. probably *ekka* as in Prakrit because the *k* is always written and not *ḡ* (except 709). In the plural *eke* means 'some'. The ordinal is both *prathama* (*pratama*) and *paḍama*, just as *prati-* and *paḍi* are both used.

2. *dui*, *dvi*, *due*, *tui*, *du*=Skt. *dve*; as in the Veda it is disyllabic (cf. § 43). Ordinal: *biti* and *dviti*. *diguna* 'twofold' with irregular treatment of *dvi-* (§ 43).

3. *tre*, *treyā*=*ṭrayaḥ*. Gen. Pl. *trina*; *tre-* and not *tri-* is used in compounds: *trevarṣaga* 'three years old'. Ordinal: *triti*.

4. *catu* and *caura*. The omission of *t* in the latter form is unusual (§ 19). *cohura* seems to be '4' in 637 *aṃṇā paśava* 4 *cohura*, but the passage is difficult. Ordinal: *caturtha*. The *t* is never omitted in this form.

5. *paṃca*, *paṃcama*.

6. *ṣo*. *ṣo* is perhaps out of *ṣva*, cf. Av. *xšvas*, etc., like *ṣoṭhaṃga* and *ṣvaṭhaṃga* (§ 7). Otherwise we should expect -*a* as in the other Prakrits. The ordinal is *ṣodhama* 110, 637. The *dh* may be just written for *t* (§ 15), in which case it is a new formation instead of *ṣaṣṭha*-, made by adding -*tama* to *ṣo*.

7. *sata*, *satama*. 8. *aṭha*, *aṭhama*. 9. *no*, *navama*.

10. *daśa*, *daśama*, *daśaṃmi* (ordinal locative).

11. *ekadaśa* 341 (ordinal).

12. *badāśa*, *badāśi* 599 (ordinal).

13. *trodasa* = *trayodaśa*. Otherwise in Middle Indian we have *te* = *tre* (*terasa*).

15. *paṃcadaśa* 489. As an ordinal: *paṃcadaśaṃmi* 599 (locative).

18. *aṭhadāśami* (ordinal locative) 354.

20. *viśati*. 30. *triśa*. 40. *capariśa*.

42. *du capariśa*. 50. *paṃcaśa*. 70. *satati*.

90. *novati*, with *o* instead of *a* borrowed from *no* '9'.

100. *śata*. 110. *daśutara śata*. 1000. *sahasra*.

ADVERBS

§ 90. Any adjective may be used as an adverb: *śigra*, *cavala* 'quickly', *piḍita* 'taking pains', *samuha*, *dura*, *bhutartha* 'really'.

As elsewhere the instrumental is used in making adverbial expressions out of nouns: *adhāmena* 'illegally', *ṣarvabhavena* 'altogether'. There is further a tendency to apply this termination to indeclinables compounded with a preposition, e.g. *anupurvena* 'in front', *ṣavistrena* 140. The correct Sanskrit forms are *anupurvam savistaram*, etc., but later and incorrect texts reflect the state of things in the popular language, e.g. *Matsya*. P. 148. 65. *sāvadhānena*; regularly in Apabhraṃśa, e.g. *savisesem*, *savinaeṇa*, *saviyappem*, etc. in the *Bhavisatta-kaha*. As a result

of this *sa* appears practically as an independent word, e.g. *tahi śa madue bharyae putra dhidarehi iśa agamdavo* 'You must come here with your mother, wife and children'. Similarly *yatha dhāmēna* = *yathādharma*. Whence *yatha* also is used almost like a preposition: 40 *yatha purva rayadvari mahatvana vibhāsi-tāgena* 'According to the former decision of the magistrates at the king's court'.

§ 91. Individual Adverbs. *atra* 'here'. *avaśa* = *avaśyam*; *anada* = 'carefully'. It is common in certain set phrases: *eda vivada anada pruchidavo* 'This dispute is to be carefully gone into'; *avi śpaśa jivida paricāgena anada račhidavya* 'Watch is to be kept carefully even at the expense of your life'; *eśa pravam-nağa anada dharidavo* 'This document is to be preserved carefully'. In the last-mentioned phrase *suha* occurs as a synonym (569, 593) and *suha* = *su* 'well' (compare 419 *suha vikrida* with 587 *svikrida*). For the etymology cf. the Index. *ahuno* = *adhunā*. The *o* might be due to an original particle *u*, i.e. **adhunā u. adehi* 'from there'; for the suffixed *-hi* cf. forms in Apabhraṃśa like *annettahi* = *anyatra*, *ettahi* = *itah*. *amnyatha* 'otherwise'. *amña* is used as a kind of particle introducing sentences = 'again, another thing'. *ajakra* = 'up till to-day'. *itu* and *imade* 'hence', *iśa* 'here'. The word occurs also in Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from N.W. India, instead of *ia*, *iha* in Aśoka. Aśokan *ia* (S. and M. 6), i.e. *iya* for *iha*, became *iśa* as described in § 17. *upari* 'above'. *tatra* 'there'. *pača* 'behind'. *patama* = 'back' (i.e. **pattama*, cf. Torwali *pat* 'back' out of **patta*-). *patena* occurs twice in the phrase *patena stavidavo*: 58 *teśa jamnaśa sa stri tatiyemi patena stavidavya Puḡo Lpipeyaśa ca nidavo* (cf. 63). The woman had been killed, so it cannot mean simply 'restore'. We must translate then: 'By those people that woman is to be made recompense for to such an extent (i.e. to the amount of her value) and (it) is to be taken by Puḡo and Lpipe.' *puna*, *punu* = *punaḥ*. *praṭha* 'forthwith' = **praṣṭham*. *prata* = *prātar*. *bahi*, *bahiya* 'outside'. *bhuya* 'again', also *bhui*, *buo* 377, and *bhiyo* = Pali *bhiyyo* 579. *suṭha* 'well' (*suṣṭhu*), but it must be out of **suṣṭham*. *sudha* = 'only', e.g. 272 *sudha nagara račhidavya, avasiṭhe raji jamna oḍidavya*

'Only the city is to be kept, the rest of the people of the kingdom are to be abandoned'.

The suffix *-mi*, *-emi* is found commonly in adverbs (also after genitives of pronouns: *tasyemi*, *teṣemi*). Examples: *tatremi*, *atremi*, *iṣemi*, *tatiyemi* (see above under *patena*), *inṭhuami* 'so' beside *inṭhu*.

PREPOSITIONS

§ 92. *a = ā*. 419, 549 *ko a pačima kalammi codeyati*. Against the explanation *ko ca* (*Kharoṣṭhi Inscr. Index Verb.*) *c* is never otherwise omitted. On the analogy of *acaṃta*, *yava* (see below), *ā* would take a locative, not an ablative, in this dialect. *agratu* (*ta*) = *agrataḥ* only 519, with the same meaning as *paraḥhida* (see below). *Sucamaṣa agratu*, *yuṣme agratu*; *yuṣme* only occurs here, and what case is meant is uncertain (cf. § 79).

acaṃta. 253, 367 *acaṃta Khotanṇaṃmi* 'as far as Khotan'.

abhyadara. 291 *abhyadara kuhanīyaṃmi anīṣyaṃti* 'They will bring into the capital'.

karaṃna. 207 *ima Aputaṣa karaṃna iṣa ichitaṃti marganae* 'They wanted to search this (man) on account of Aputa'.

pača. 144 *taḥitaḡade pača* 'after the beating'.

patama = 'back'. 64 *caṃkura Vajeṣasa imade aṃtaḡi uṭa 4 Samarsade patama nikhalidavo Samarsade uṭa 4 dadavo Śunade patama nikhalidavo Śunade uṭa 4 dadavo Piṣaliyade patama nikhalidavo* 'From here the *caṃkura* Vajeṣa has 4 *aṃtaḡi* camels, they are to be sent back from Samarsa (and) 4 camels are to be given from Samarsa, (these) are to be sent back from Snuna (and) 4 camels are to be given from Snuna, (these) are to be sent back from Piṣali'. The base **patta* is common in the modern Dardic languages, cf. Torwali *pat* 'back, behind'.

paraṭha, *paraḥhida* 'in the presence of' (as witnesses). 322 *eṣa lihiṭaḡa cojhboana Śitaka (Yi-) Vuktoṣa ca paraṭha* 'This was written in the presence of the *cojhba*'s Ś. and V.'; 592 *eṣa lihiṭaḡa paraṭha mahatvana* 'In the presence of the magistrates'.

paride 'from'. 11 *edaṣa Apīṣae nama uneyaḡa praṇe Kuṅḡeyaṣa paride vivada* 'He has a dispute about an adopted girl called Apīṣae (adopted) from Kuṅḡe'. *paride*, which is very common always, takes the genitive and not the ablative.

prace 'concerning' = *pratyayam* takes either the stem or the genitive, e.g. 582 *Yipiya ni bhuma prace* 'concerning Yipi's land' and 579 *Moḡata ni bhumaṣa praceya*. The word is borrowed into Saka in the form *praccāi*. *bhaḡena* 'in place of', 'on behalf of': 30 *yatha Apiḡoṣa bhaḡena Tseḡeyammi Tuṣana thida taṣa bhaḡena Khotammi Kanasāga thida* 'That Tuṣana stayed at Tseḡe instead of Apiḡo and in place of him, Kanasāga of Khotan'. It is also used without a case meaning 'as a substitute': 19 *iṣa stri Tamaṣyanae bhaḡena Yitaṣenaṣa khulona (=°ana) vaṃti thida* 'Here the woman T. stayed with the herds of Y. as a substitute' (or 'taking her turn').

yava 'as far as'. 214 *yava Khemaṃmi*, 506 *yāva Tatiḡa Bhatraṣa ca aḡamanaṃmi* 'Until the arrival of Tatiḡa and Bhatra'.

It does not take the locative in the expressions *yava ajakra divaṣa*, *yava jivo*.

vaṃti = *upānte*. It is borrowed into Saka in the form *bendā*: 5 *khulana vaṃti thidavo* 'Must stay with the herds, in charge of the herds'; 621 *eṣa... Aśoḡa ni kilmeci Catoveṣa vaṃti bala simaya āsiṣyati* 'He used to dwell when young next door (*śimāyām*) to Catove who belonged to the district of Aśoka'; 39 *teṣa vaṃti unida vardhida* 'She was brought up with them'. It is frequently used in expressions of legal transactions: 579 *tivira Ramṣotsaṣa vaṃti bhuma vikrida* 'He sold land to the scribe *Ramṣotsa*', etc.; 546 *ogu vāsu Bhimaṣenaṣa vaṃti garaḡiṣyama* 'We will complain in front of the *ogu vāsu* *Bhimaṣena*'. *vaṃti* is more frequently used of the person against whom an action is taken: 212 *ahuno ede vaḡavi praceya eḡaṣa vaṃti parihaṣamti* 'Now they are making a claim against him about these mares'. Further examples of legal transactions: 551 *eda kuḡi Pḡiṣena Bhaṣḡhaṣa vaṃti parivaṡida* 'Pḡiṣa made an exchange with Bhaṣḡha of this girl (for another)'; 24 *yatha eḡaṣa daḡha Sarpigāṣa vaṃti Caule aṣpa rna nikhalati* 'That Caule has a horse out on loan with his slave Sarpigā (or 'wants to take away a horse he has lent to...'). Frequently with the phrase *asaṃna gam*, which seems to mean 'take possession of': 425 *eka bhitiyaṣa vaṃti nasti danagrahana asaṃna na [gaṃdavo]* 'There shall be no giving or taking one from another and no assumption of

ownership'; cf. 260, 436, etc. *ṣamahō, ṣamao* = 'with'; compare Apabhraṃśa *samau* = *samatas*. The omission of the *t* is unusual (§ 19), but might occur in a word like this which was weakly stressed. In that case the *h* must be regarded as simply indicating a hiatus: 326 *tena ṣamao*, 164 *ṣada storena jamna ṣamahō* 'With our beasts and our men'. *sardha, sadha* (ṣ^o), the usual word for 'with', may be used with the instrumental, genitive, or simple stem. In the plural it is not found with the instrumental. It may be placed before or after its noun, more often after. Examples: 82 *sardha valaḡena* and *valaḡena sardha* 'with a guard', 425 *kala Cuḡapaṣa sardha*, 516 *Khotaniyana sardha*, 632 *bharya sadha*, 83 *Namtaśrma ṣadha*, etc.

VERB

§ 93. The personal endings are the same as in Prakrit except that side by side with the *-ṣi* of the 2nd singular there is a form in *-tu* which is used in all the three tenses, e.g. 399 *sutha na lamcaḡa karetu yadi kālihari karetu* 'Certainly you do not do rightly if you make a quarrel'; 439 *puna ahuno rayaka gavi picavidetu* 'Now again you have put the royal cattle in his charge'; 114 *puna ahuno bhuya palḡi omaḡa viṣajīṣyatu awaṣa tanu goḡhade puna vyoṣisatu* '(If) again now you send the tax less (than the proper amount) certainly you shall pay from your own farm'. The forms occurring are:

PRESENT. *aroḡetu* 'you are well', *ichatu, karetu, choretu* 134, *darsavetu* 761, *denatu, picavetu* 439, *prasavetu, margetu* 399, *vimṇavetu, viṣajetu* 247, *ṣayatu* 'you seize, take'.

PAST. *achimnidetu* 714, *ukastetu* 320 'went away', *picavidetu* 439, *lihitetu* 157, *viṣarjitetu* 126, 399.

FUTURE. *agachiṣatu* 634, *dāsyatu* 507, *aniṣyatu* 517, 554, *oḡiṣatu* 'you will let go, allow', *kariṣyatu, nivartiṣyatu* 634, *paḡichīṣyatu* 517, *paribujiṣatu, labhiṣatu* 635, *vikriṣamtu* 633, *vithiṣyatu* 165 'you will keep back', *viṣajīṣyatu* 68, 145, 214, *vyoṣiṣatu* 714.

From a survey of the passages in which these forms occur it can be seen that they are always used of the actions of the person to whom the letter is addressed.

The *-tu* is probably taken from the 2nd person of the pronoun.

§ 94. The middle is not used except occasionally artificially: *rucate* 585 = S. *rocate* or Pali *rucati*, *vam̐tade* = *vandate* 669.

The passive is quite rare. It is used commonly in *śruiyati* 'it is heard' and *vucati* 'it is said'. The only other examples are *pariniyam̐ti* 399, *lihyati* 224, *niyati* 364 (possibly optative = *neyati*), *nikhaliyati* 743.

§ 95. Outside *asti* the only remnant of athematic conjugation is *śakoma* 161, 646, which is used as a 1st person singular (= *śaknomi*). *asti* is used as a strong affirmative and *nasti* as a strong negative: 315 *yava asti siyati* 'As much as there is'; 272 *yaśa asti st(o)ra hačhati tade nikhalidavo* 'Of whom there shall be a horse from him it is to be taken'; 714 *yo asti palpi kareti, yo nasti dura nikhalidavo* 'He who pays his tax (well and good), he who does not must be removed'; *nasti*: 124 *sačhi iša nasti hutam̐ti* 'There were no witnesses here', cf. 161, 166, 326, 431.

§ 96. Verbs in *-ati*. It is not possible to tell whether verbs like *janati* keep the long *ā* or have been fully adapted to the *bhū* class; *janati* may be either *jānāti* or **jānati*.

Of interest is *denati* 'give' for *deti*, which also occurs. The *na* is probably borrowed from the verb with the opposite meaning *grhṇāti*.

sthā makes its present *thiyam̐ti* 358, compare Pali *paṭiṭṭhiyati* 'stands against, resists'.

The old perfect *āha* receives the terminations of the present *ahati* 345 'says'.

bhavati regularly became *hoti*. But more common is *hoati*, which has been readapted to the system.

List of forms: *avajasi* = *āpadyase*, *ichati*, *gameṣati* (*gaveṣate*), *garahati*, *codam̐ti*, *jivama*, *namdati*, *namasyati*, *naśyati*, *naśati*, *nikasati*, *nikhasati* 'goes away', 'is spent', *paḍichati*, *pari-pruchati*, *parihaṣati* 'claims' (*pari-bhāṣ*), *prchati*, *bhavati*, *marati*, *mryati*, *maṃṇāti*, *margaṃti*, *rucati*, *lahati* (*labhate*), *likhami*, *lihati*, *vakoṣam̐ti*, *vardhati*, *vaham̐ti*, *vijam̐ti* (*vidhyanti*), *saṃ-čhivati*, *saṃtiṣam̐ti* (*saṃ-diṣ*), *harami*, *haradi*.

§ 97. Verbs in *-eti*. As in the rest of the Prakrits *-eti* is no longer a specifically causative suffix, its place having been taken

by *-aveti*. The regular terminations are *-emi*, *-eṣi*, *-eti*, *-ema*, *-eṃti*, but fuller forms also occur, presumably in imitation of Sanskrit: Sing. 1. *viṃṇāveyaṃmi* 663, *preṣeyami* 269; Sing. 3. *preṣeyati* 25, etc., *sampreṣeyati* 288; Plur. 1. *saṃṇāveyama* 288, *viṃṇāveyama* 259. These forms are identical in spelling (but not in pronunciation; the *e* must have been *ē*) with optatives formed from the same verbs and can only be distinguished by the context.

kr, as usually in Prakrit, is conjugated in this class: *karemi*, *kareṣi*, *kareṃdi*. Beside *janami*, *janaṣi*, we find *janemi*, *janeṣi*, as occasionally in Prakrit (Pischel, § 510).

ārogya makes a denominative in this class: *arogemi*, *-etu*, *-ema*; also *-ama* 721, *-eṃti*; *arogyosmi* 399 is an attempt to Sanskritise it, like *gatosmi*, etc. for *gademi*.

Further examples: *āgaseṃti* 'they carry off' 304, *oḍemi*, etc. 'let go, allow', *choreṃti*, *taḍeti*, *dhareti*, *nikhalemi* 'I remove, take out', *poḍeti* 'rubs', *preṣemi*, *viṃṇāveti*, *viṃṇāvema* 164, 702, *vīyoṣeti* 'pays', *viṣajeti*, *viheḍeti* 'oppresses, worries', *sampreṣeti*, *sthaveṃti*.

Cases of confusion between the two classes are rare: *saṃtiṣemi* 127 (*saṃtiṣaṃti* 703) = *saṃ* + *diṣ*, *nikhalati* 24, *nikhalamana* 189; *viṃṇāvatu* 292. Probably the vowel-stroke has been omitted by carelessness.

§ 98. Practically no imperative forms occur. Outside *hotu* there is only *davyatu*, 3rd passive, 399 *ma iṃci vṛtaḡa uṭa davyatu* 'Let not an old camel be given'. *hotu* (*hutu*) is common and is used for both singular and plural, e.g. 10 [*ṣarvi*] *pruchitae hotu* 'Let all be asked' and 244 *avi Pḡeca uṭa 3 nita avāṣa jheniḡa hutu* 'And P. brought 3 camels, by all means let them be under your care'.

The reason for the practical loss of the imperative is that its place has been taken by passive constructions with gerundives in *-avya*.

§ 99. Future. *seṭ* forms are practically universal. The only *aniṭ* forms are *śaḥhyami*, *śaḥhe* 311, *stasyati* and *dasyati* (also *deyiṣati*).

The *a* of *iṣyati* is sometimes marked long, so that possibly

it had been lengthened on the analogy of the optative: *asiṣyāti* 621 (*ās-*), *gachiṣyāti* 223, *dasyāti* 677.

Beside *-ami* of the 1st singular there are a few forms in *-a*: *gameṣiṣa* 372, *parimargiṣya* 368. They are not = Śaur. *-iṣam* but mistakes; cf. *bhaviṣya* 109 = *bhaviṣyati*.

The ending *-iṣyati* (*iṣati*) is usually added to the present base, but we find *gamiṣati* beside *gachiṣyati*. There is no distinction as a rule between verbs in *-eti* and verbs in *-ati*, e.g. *anaviṣyati* from *anaveti* 'commands', *oḍiṣyati* from *oḍeti* 'lets go'. At the same time forms corresponding to *-ayiṣyati* are found. These are no doubt artificial: *preṣeyiṣyasi* 399 (*preṣiṣama* 288), *sodheṣyati* 'will pay' 635, *sodheṣyamṭi* 272.

nī and *dā* make their future in various ways: *aniṣati* 159, *aniṣyami* 696, *aneṣyati* 125, 399, *niyiṣyati* 362, *dasyati*, *deyiṣyamṭi* 182, *dheṣati* 348.

haḥhati, = Pkt. *acchāi*, is generally used as an optative, more rarely as a future: 352 *niḥe haḥhati* 'There will be a decision'.

Further examples: *ichiṣyati*, *kariṣyami*, *-atu*, *-ati*, *-ama*, *-amṭi*; *gachiṣati*, *garahiṣyama*, *giṃniṣyasi*, *chiṃniṣyati*, *choriṣyasi*, *janiṣyami*, *thaviṣyati*, *nikaliṣyati*, *-iṣati*, *nivartiṣyati*, *paḍichiṣama*, *patiṣyati*, *paribuṣiṣasi*, *-tu* (*pari-budh*), *pariṣamiṣati* 130 (= ?), *picaviṣyati*, *pranaṣiṣyati*, *pruchiṣyati*, *preṣiṣama*, *bhaviṣyati*, *maṣiṣyati*, *raḥhiṣyati*, *labhiṣyati*, *lihiṣyamṭi*, *leṣiṣamṭi* (*śleṣaya-* ? cf. § 49), *vaviṣati* 'will sow', *viṣajiṣasi*, *vyoṣiṣati*, *saṃghaliṣyati* 'will collect', *sarajiṣamṭi* 'will agree'.

§ 100. The optative has always the primary endings: (*-eyami*), *-eyasi*, *-eyati*, (*-eyama*), (*-eyatha*), *-eyamṭi*. The long *ā* is sometimes written: *grṇheyāti* 320, *coteyāti* 582, *bhaveyāti* 678, *deyāṃti* 437. From the last example it appears that contrary to the usual Prakrits *-ā-* can occur before the group *-nt-* in this dialect.

praviṣayati 489 is a mistake for *praviṣeyati*. *haḥhati* is to be classified as an optative. In the majority of cases it occurs in subordinate clauses with *yadi*, etc., where the optative is the rule. Parallel with *syati*: 160 *yo atra hasta lekha udaḡa bhiṣaṣa prace syati athava levistarena anati lekha haḥhati* 'What hand-

letter may be there concerning water and seed or what letter of instruction with a detailed account there may be'.

Other examples: *anuvarteyati*, *avarajeyanti* (*aparādh-*), *ichiyati* (cf. § 1), *uthaveyati*, *-yanti*, *kareyaṣi*, *-ati*, *coteyati*, *taḍeyati*, *deyati* and *deyeyanti* 345 (cf. *dey-iṣyati*), *prabhaveyati* 437, *praśameyaṣi* 373, *bhaveyati*, *mamtreyati* 100, *viśarjeyasi* 696, *veteyati*, *sajeyati*.

As in the future no difference is made between verbs in *-eti* and verbs in *-ati*.

§ 101. Present participles are rare. There is a tendency to generalise the middle forms in *-māna*, as in later Ardha-Magadhi. Examples are *achinṇamana* 'encroaching on', *gachamana*, (*kathamana* 514), *karemana*, *nikhalamana*. *vartamana* is used as a kind of noun in the phrase *yahi Khema Khotamnade vartamana siyati* 'If there be any news (events, happenings) from Khema and Khotan', = *pravṛti*, *paḍivati*. The participle is used to make a circumscribed tense with *siyati*: 235 *pruchidavo bhudārtha ṣe miṣi edaṣa tanuṣāga siyati anahetu Suḡika achinṇamana siyati* 'You must enquire whether this *miṣi*-(land) really belongs to him (and whether) Suḡika is encroaching on it, (taking if off him) on account of a debt (or without cause *ana=a, an- ?*)'; cf. *nikhalamana siyanti* 189.

The active participle is only used in certain stereotyped phrases and in words that have become adjectives, e.g. *jivamdaḡa*, Fem. *jivanti*, 'alive'; *jayanta*, *jeyanta* 'victorious' (a title of kings). Used participially are *saṃta*: 482 *purva dhamā vibhaktaḡa yena samula vṛcḡa chinṇanti tatra saṃta vṛcḡa varidavo aṣpa avimḡama* 'The former law was that when they cut down trees with the roots—the trees which are there (still)—they must be stopped, a horse is the recompense', and *janamda*, frequently in the phrase *janamda bhavidavo* 'you must know'.

§ 102. **Indeclinable Participle.** The regular dialectical form is in *-ti*. It is not frequent: *śruniti*: 341 *ede śruniti Piṣaliyade iṣa viṣajidavo* 'These, having heard them are to be sent here from Piṣali'. *apruchiti*: 39 *edeṣa dajhi Cimikae ṇama, edeṣa ana apruchiti dhitu Kapḡeyaṣa dajhana unti dita* 'They have a slave-woman called Cimikae; without asking their permission (*ājñām*

apṛṣṭvā) she gave her daughter to slaves of Kapṛge as a foster-child' (cf. 492). *vajiti*: 376 *eda lekha vajiti cavala kara (...)* *kartavo* 'Having read this letter, immediately... is to be done' (cf. 152, 725). *palayiti*: 491 *adehi palayiti agada* 'Having fled from there he came' (cf. 540).

The form was characteristic of the North-West. It is found in the Kharoṣṭhi Dh.p.: *upajiti* C^{vo} 44, *pramayiti* A² 3, *parivajeti* A² 8. Also in the two North-Western versions of Aśoka.

It is presumably out of Vedic *-tvī*, although this is not the regular treatment of the group *-tv-* (§ 43).

Apart from literary pieces (*kṛtva* 647, *saṃpreṣitva* 204, *Khatva*, *pitva* 565, which is influenced by the Literary Language) the only forms in *-tva* that occur are *śrutva* 399, *bhudva* 49, where the reading and interpretation of the whole text are difficult, and *daditva*, which occurs twice in the same phrase: 345 and 437 *yo ca koci... amñātha icheyamti karamnae... muha codana apramana ca bhaveyati tamda praṭtam ca deyamti catuvarṣaḡa aṣṭa paṃcaśa prahara sarva eta damda daditva avāse ca eda yatha uvāri lihitaḡa*. Here an indeclinable participle hardly seems to suit the context and we have perhaps an example of the Vedic gerundives in *-tva* (cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, § 581). 'Whoever shall want to make it otherwise, attacking (the agreement) again shall have no authority, and they shall give the ensuing penalty (namely) a 4-year-old horse and fifty blows, *all this penalty is to be given*, and certainly (the agreement) shall remain as written above.'

With *-ya* are formed *uvadae* = *upādaya* 'starting from', and *utiśa*, *udiśa*, which presumably = *uddiśya*, although its usage does not tally with Sanskrit and Prakrit. It is used not with an accusative (*tam uddiśya* 'with reference to him'), but by itself at the beginning of clauses, apparently meaning 'with reference to this matter', e.g. 159 *adehi tusya mahāvāna paride na kimci śrunammi udiśa ahuno śadavida Kolṣiṣaḡa hastammi vacari 2 prāhidemi* 'From there I hear nothing from you and the high officials, with reference to that (fact), (considering that), I have sent 2 *vacari* ('jars'?) in the hand of the *śadavida* Kolṣiṣa', etc. etc.

vacitu: 399 *yahi eṣa stovamna atra eśati lekha vacitu, tomi*

stovamṇaṣa haste uṭa iṣa prahadavya. It may be explained either as a passive *vacitu*=*vācyatu* for *vācyatām* (cf. *davyatu* below and § 98) or as an indeclinable participle like the Ardha-Māgadhi forms in *-ittu* (*chindittu*, *jinittu*, etc.). 'Having read the letter, thereupon the camel is to be sent here in the hand of Stovamṇa.'

§ 103. **Infinitive.** The infinitive is regularly in *-amṇae*=*-anāya* (*gamañāya*, etc.). The form is also found in the North-West versions of Aśoka, e.g. *kṣamanaye* S. 13 (where the other versions have *-tave*). The forms are always made from the present tense, not from the root as in the corresponding Sanskrit verbal nouns, e.g. *gimṇamṇae* 'to take', not **grahamṇae*. Examples: *ayamṇae* 'to come' (*ayida* 'came'), *karamṇae*, *-aya*, *-aye*, *asadhamṇae* 'to settle' (*sad*), *ukasamṇae* 'to depart', *kāmavamṇae*; *kiṣamṇae*, *kriṣamṇae*, *kriṣivamṇae*, all meaning to 'plough', *khayamṇae* 'to eat', *gachamṇae*, *garahamṇae*, *chimnamṇae*, *taḍamṇae*, *thavamṇae*, *deṣamṇae*, *dhamanaye* 'to tame, break', *dharamṇae*, *nivartanae*, *nihamñamṇae* 331=*nihananae* 586, *paribhuchanae*=*paribhuñj-*, *paśamṇae* 'to inspect', *pica-vamṇae*, *prichamṇaye*, *preṣamṇae*, *banṇanae* (*bandh-*), *pivamṇamṇae* 586 (*pi-bandh-*), *maramṇaya* 'to kill' (*mareti*) 420, *amaramṇae* 'not to die' 703, *marganae* 'to seek', *raḥhamṇae*, *vikrinamṇae*; beside *vikrinamṇae* occurs *vikranamṇae* 586-7, 590, 592, *vyoṣamṇae* 'to pay', *viṣarjanae*, *śrunamṇae*, *śgabhamṇae* (= *skabh-*, cf. § 49), *sajavanae* 'to make ready', *śavamṇae* 'to swear', *aniyanaye* 'to bring', *thiyamṇae* 'to stay', *deyamṇae*.

Forms in *-tu*=*-tum* are very rare: *kartu*, *aḡantu* 646 and probably *viṣajitu*, 262 *dviti vara imade anati kilamudra atra gachati adehi hastagada viṣajitu na imci iṣa agachati* 'A second time a wedge-seal of command goes from here (with orders) to send him here under arrest, he does not come'. Compare *viṣarjanae* in 4 *anadi lekha gada adehi uṭa* 4 *Calmadanamṇmi viṣarjanae*.

The infinitive is used as a verbal noun in 376 *sajavanae piṭce* 'about getting ready'.

§ 104. **Causative.** The causative is in *-avati*=*āpayati* as in the rest of the Prakrits. The long *ā* is written in *śavāvītavya* 358 'to be caused to swear'. Examples of causative verbs are

āgasavida ($\bar{a} + \sqrt{kas}$ 'to carry off'), *anaviṣyati*, *anavidavo* 'command', *asavidavo* (from $\sqrt{ās}$, 'to settle somebody'), *uthaveti*, *uthaveyati*, *thavita*, *darsavēti*, *dauidagena* 'with a gift' 749, *nivartavidavo* 'cause to turn back', *bamdhavita*, *varjavidavo*, *vimñaveti*, *vithavēsi*, *vithavida* = 'keep back', *vyavasthavidaga*, *sajavamnae*, *sthavēnti*.

parichhinavitamti 'They caused to perish, used up' 272 is formed from the past participle passive.

From *karma* a denominative is made by this suffix *kāmaveti*, meaning 'to cause to work'. It also means simply 'to work' in 107 (cf. Pischel, § 559).

PAST TENSE

§ 105. As in the modern Indo-Aryan languages and in Persian, a new past tense is formed by attaching the personal endings to the past participle passive. The paradigm from *dā* 'to give' would be:

<i>ditemi</i>	<i>ditama</i>
<i>diteṣi</i>	<i>ditetha</i>
<i>dita</i>	<i>ditamti</i>

The 3rd singular has no termination, the simple stem being used both for the masculine and the feminine 'he or she gave'. The forms in *-ta* are practically never used as participles, their place being taken by the extended forms in *-āga*, in the feminine by *-i* (cf. § 74). The development must have started from the intransitive verbs, *gataḥ + asmi* would give *gademi* in this dialect (§ 12). In the plural *gatāḥ + sma* would give *gadama*. These are the forms that actually occur, and this difference of vowel in the singular and plural shows that we are actually dealing with the nominative singular and plural of the participle and the verb 'to be' and not simply the addition of personal endings borrowed from the present. This is the only place where a trace of the old nominative singular in *-e* is preserved. The 3rd singular *dita* represents the neuter singular, to judge from the form *-u* in the Khotan dialect (661), where *-u < am*. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 432.

The result of this (purely phonetic) development into *-emi*, *-eṣi* was that these terminations were felt as being the same as

those of the present in *-emi*, *-eṣi*, and the transition into a purely verbal form was facilitated. In the 2nd plural *-etha* is due entirely to analogy instead of *-astha*. Forms in *-atha* probably never occur. The only example is *kiṭatha* 213 which is doubtful. The 3rd plural is always in *-amti* for *-āḥ samti*. Curiously enough forms in *-emti* never occur. There seems to be a rule that the anusvāra is never written when *d* takes the place of *t* in the past participle, e.g. *aitamti* and *ayidati* 'they came'. This is more likely to be a habit of writing than really phonetic, especially since we know that the people did not distinguish between *t* and *d* (§ 19). Compare *ida ca* 573 for the usual *itam ca* (§ 82).

§ 106. The writers seem to have been aware of the origin of these forms because in the 1st person singular we find *-osmi* occasionally instead of *-emi*. It is of course Sanskritising. It is usually found in intransitive forms: *ṣadosmi* 'I am pleased' beside *ṣademi*, *prihitosmi* 'I am pleased' 140, *gatosmi* 146. In a transitive verb only *prahidasmi* = *prahidemi* 'I sent' 316. The same thing happens to the denominative *arogemi* 'I am well', for which *arogyosmi* appears in 317.

§ 107. As in the future (§ 99) the past participle and its derivatives are as a rule formed from the present with the help of the vowel *i*. But a greater number of original forms are preserved. Often both forms occur. Examples: *anatemti* 'I commanded' (also *anavidesi*), *abomata* = *abhyavamata*, in the phrase *abomata kar-* 'disregard, disobey'; *ukasta* 'went away' (also *ukasita*), *upaṇṇa* = *utpanna*, *kiṭa*, *kiḍa*, *krta* and *kata* from *kr*; *giṭa* also *ginṇita* 'took' (also *grahita*), *dṛṭha* (*tṛṭha*) 'saw', *thida*, *naṭha* 'perished', *nikasta* 'went away', *nikramta*, *nigada*, *pariḥimna*, *parimugta* 702 (written for *parimukta* which is Sanskrit; the real dialectical form occurs in *mutamti* 'they released' 63), *pravitha*, *prahita* 'sent' (**pradhita* rather than *prahita* from *prahinoti* on account of *prahatavya* = *pradhātavya*; perhaps the two verbs have been confused), *prasṛtamti*, *bhuta*, *mṛta*, *ladha*, *vakuṭha* (also *vakoṣida*), *vikrida* 'sold' (also *vikrinita*), *vināṭha*, *viṣvasta*, *vyochimna* 506 (usually *vyochimnita*),

śruta, *śata* 'swore', *śiṭha* (a noun = 'punishment'), *śudha*, *saṃr̥dhae* 'flourishing', *stīta*, *huda*.

§ 108. Other forms are: Singular. 1. *agatemi*, *ayidemi* 'I came', *oḍidemi* 'I let go', *giṃnidemi*, *coridemi*, *jalpidemi*, *tidemi* 'I gave', *triṭhemi* 'I saw', *nitemi* and *niyidemi* 'I led', *parivaṭidemi* 'I exchanged', *picavitemi*, *preṣidemi*, *vavidemi*, *vikridemi*, *vithitemi* 'I kept back', *vyoṣidemi* 'I payed', *viṣarjīdemi*, *śrutemi*, *ṣayidemi* 'I got hold of', *hudemi*.

The bahuvrihi *ñadartha* = *jñātārtha* is treated like a participle and we get *ñadarthemi* 'I have learned'.

2. *anavideṣi*, *kideṣi*, *krideṣi* 'you bought', *gadeṣi*, *gameṣideṣi*, *giḍeṣi*, *giṃnideṣi*, *thaviteṣi*, *diteṣi*, *nikhaliteṣi*, *parimargideṣi*, *picavideṣi*, *prahiteṣi*, *baṃnideṣi* (*bandh-*), *vajideṣi* 'you read', *vikrideṣi*, *vithavideṣi*, *vibhaṣiteṣi*, *viṣajideṣi*, *sajavideṣi*, *saṃtiṭheṣi*, *hudeṣi*. For the forms in *-tu*, cf. § 93.

3. *ayita* 'came', *akasita* 'carried off', *anita*, *anavida*, *ichita*, *ukasita*, *uthavida*, *oḍita*, *garahita*, *giṭa* and *giṃnita*, *govita* 225 (? *corita*), *ciṃtita* 'reckoned', *ciṃnita* 'cut' (*chīnita*), *jalpita*, *jhorida* (= *chorita*), *taḍita*, *thavita*, *darṣita* 'packed, loaded', *dahita* 666 (= *dagdha*), *naśida* 'disappeared', *nikhalita*, *niyida* 'took', *nivartita* 'returned', *paḍichida*, *pratilikhida*, *payita* 763 (from *pāyayati*), *parakramita*, *parivaṭida*, *palayita*, *poṣida*, *praḡasida*, *praṣavita* 'let have, granted', *praharita* 'struck', *preṣida*, *binṇita* and *bhinita*, *maṃtrita* 'said', *marita* 'killed', *mavita*, *likhida*, *lihita*, *leṣita*, *vakośida*, *varita* 'stopped', *vardhida*, *vikarida* 419 (passive), *vikrinita*, *vijita* 'wounded', *viṃṇavita*, *vitita* 'known' (passive), *vyoṣita*, *viṣajita* and *viṣarjita*, *śavita* 'swore', *ṣayita* and *ṣeyita* 'seized', *saṃghalita* 'collected', *sargita* 49 'flooded'.

§ 109. Plural. 1. *ayitama*, *kidama*, *kridama*, *giḍama*, *chīnīdama*, *tidama*, *triṭhama*, *nikhalidama*, *nitama*, *nivartavidama*, *paṭichidama*, *parichitama*, *prahitama*, and *prehidama* 'we sent', *leṣitama*, *varidama*, *vibhaktama*, and *vibhaṣitama* 'we gave a (legal) decision', *viṣajidama*, *vyochiṃnidama*, *śakidama* 'we were able', *śrutama*, *hutama*.

There are probably no 1st plurals in *-ema*. Those forms which occur seem to be mistakes for the 1st singular in *-emi*. In 164

gatema, śrutema, apruchitema, aroḡema, are mistakes for *gatemi*, etc., as also *śatosma* for *śatosmi*. So probably *prahidema* 77 and *śrudema* 399.

2. *achimnidetha, asidetha, ichidetha, picavidetha*.

3. *aitaṃti, aḡajhitaṃti* 'carried off', *agataṃti, ichitaṃti, ukastaṃti* 'departed', *uthitaṃti, oḡitaṃti, kataṃti, kritaṃti* and *kiḡaṃti, kharṇitaṃti, khayitaṃti* 'ate', *gataṃti, garahitaṃti, giḡaṃti* and *giṃnitaṃti, chimnitaṃti, taḡitaṃti* and *daḡitaṃti, darṣitaṃti* 'they packed', *nikastaṃti, nikhaliṃti, nikhastitaṃti, nitaṃti, nivartavitaṃti, nihaṃṇitaṃti, paḡichitaṃti, paraṣitaṃti* 'plundered, overpowered, took possession of', *pariḡchinavitaṃti, parivaḡitaṃti* 'exchanged', *palayitaṃti, picavitaṃti, prasṛtaṃti* 383, *prahitaṃti, pruchitaṃti, bimnitaṃti* (bhind-), *manṛitaṃti* 'said', *maritaṃti* 'killed', *mavitaṃti, mutaṃti* (mukta-) 63, *mṛitaṃti, varitaṃti, vavitaṃti, viṃṇavitaṃti, viṣajitaṃti, viheditaṃti* 'oppressed, worried', *vutaṃti, vyochimnitaṃti, śataṃti* 'swore', *śrutitaṃti, śayitaṃti* 'took hold of', *sarajitaṃti* 'agreed', *stitaṃti, hutaṃti*.

With *d* for *t*: *gadaṃti, paḡicidaṃti* 589 and *paḡichidaṃti, sarajidaṃti* 586.

As stated above (§ 105) the anusvāra is not usually written when *d* takes the place of *t*. Examples: *ayidati, uthavidati, uthidati, garahidati, chimnidati, nidati, niyidati, parajhidati* (beside *paraṣitaṃti*), *vikridati. paḡicimṭati* 598 = *paḡichitaṃti*.

§ 110. Passive forms in -aka.

Forms in *-aḡa* and *-ae* are used indiscriminately. Compare for instance 581 *eṣa hasta lekha likhidaḡa*, with 715 *eṣa pravamaṇaḡa hasta lekha likhidae*.

Forms in *-ae* and *-aya* are: *kiḡae, kiḡaya* 593, *gadaya* 133, *coridae, asitae, giṭae, cimṭidae* 'reckoned', *ditae, didaya, didae*, 'given', *dharitae, naṭhae, nikasitae, nidae, nidaya, patitaya* 414, *paraṣitae -aya* 'plundered, carried off', *palayitae, pravithae* 333, *prasavidae* 'granted', *pruchitae, bhimnitaya* 633, *likhitae* and *lihitae -taya, varidae, vithitae, viṣajidae, samghalidae, sarajidae, hudaē*.

On the ending *-ae*, see further, §§ 8, 74.

§ 111. Forms in *-aḡa* are: *avyochimnidaga* 471, *asitaga, kritaga* (*kṛ* and *krī*), *kriṣitaga, khayidaga* 'eaten', *khoridaga*

'shaved', *gachidaḡa* 388, *ciṃditaḡa* 'reckoned, assessed', *coritaḡa* -*daḡa*, *taḡitaḡa*, *tidaḡa*, *thavidaḡa*, *thidaḡa*, *ditaḡa*, *naḡaḡa*, *nikastaḡa*, *nikhastaga*, *paḡichitaḡa*, *palayidaḡa*, *picavitaḡa*, *praṣa-vitaḡa* -*daḡa*, *prahitaḡa*, *baṃdhitaga* 660 and *baṃnidaḡa*, *binni-daḡa* 'broken', *mumtritaḡa* 'sealed' 247, *mrṡaga* and *mrṡaḡa* 'dead', *yajitaḡa* 'borrowed' (cf. S. *yācitaka*), *ladhaḡa*, *likhitaḡa*, *vavitaḡa* 'sown', *vikaritaḡa*, *vititaḡa* 343, 544 'distributed', *vithitaḡa* 'kept back, withheld', *vinathaga*, *vibhaktaga* and *vibhaṣitaḡa* 'decided' (of a lawsuit), *viṣajidaḡa*, *vismaridaḡa*, *vyochiṃnidaḡa*, *vyavasthavidaga*, *saṃgalitaḡa*, *stitaḡa*, *hodaḡa*.

§ 112. A number of these forms are used substantively, and as such may occur in the oblique cases. *coridaḡa prace* might mean 'about a theft' or 'about a thing stolen', but e.g. *taḡitaḡade paḡa* 'after a beating' is definitely an abstract noun. This is the only example of the ablative. Instrumental forms are quite common: *taḡitaḡena* 'through a beating', *darṣidaḡena*, 40 *yadi* ... *darṣidaḡena mariṣyati* 'If it shall die through being (over) loaded', *dauida (ḡena)* 659, *viḡitaḡena*, 190 *tena viḡitaḡena mryati* 'dies owing to that wound', *vibhaṣitaḡena* 'decision', *vyochiṃni-daḡena* 297, 339, *yatha pūrva vyochiṃnidaḡena* 'as formerly decided' (cf. § 90), *śrutaḡena* 399.

viṣajidaḡena in 732, *maṃnuṣa viṣajidaḡena prace* is simply the instrumental written for nominative accusative (§§ 117, 118).

§ 113. Feminines in *-i*. The proper feminine form in the passive is in *-i*. In the active no distinction is made between masculine and feminine. Compare for instance in 39 *edeṣa dajhi Cimikae nama edeṣa ana aprochiti dhitu Kapḡeyaṣa dajhana uniti dita* 'A slave-woman of their's called Cimikae without asking their permission gave her daughter as a foster-child to the slaves of Kapḡe' with *pruchidavo bhutartha edeṣa dajhi Kapḡeyaṣa dajhana uniti diti edeṣa ana aprochiti siyati* '(You) must enquire whether really their slave (i.e. the child) was given to slaves of Kapḡe without asking their permission'; cf. further 279 *Yaṡe avanaṃmi kilmeḡi kala Acuṡiṡyaṣa śvasu Cakuṡaae nama Aḡiyama avanaṃmi kilmeḡi Pḡenasa bharya aniti huati* 'Cakuṡaae sister of kala, Acuṡiṡ of the district of Yaṡe avana, was taken to wife by Pḡena of the district of Aḡiyama avana'; 4 *pruchidavo bhutartha kriti*

siyati 'whether she has really been bought', etc. Compare the Apabhraṃśa forms like *avainī*, *palitī*, *diṭṭhī*, *saṃjuttī*, *uppanī*, etc. (*Bhavisatta-kaha*) and § 74.

These forms have to be distinguished by the context from indeclinable participles in *-ti* (§ 102).

The distinction between masculine and feminine is occasionally neglected. We find feminine forms in *-ae* at 45 *edaṣa dajhi Cimikae dhitu Rutrayaṣa unti giṭae* 'The daughter of their slave-woman Cimikae was taken as a foster-child by Rutraya' (cf. 434). On the other hand *-i* instead of *-ae* in 473 *yatha edaṣa śramana Saṃgaśira masuṣaṭa bhumačhetra bamdhova thaviti siyati* 'That the monk Saṃgaśira mortgaged a vineyard and a field of (ploughing) land with him'; 327 *muli huti*.

§ 114. There is one exception to the rule that the forms in *-taḡa*, *-tae* are passive, and that is the compound past tense *ditae siyati* 'he should have given' and *ditae huati* 'he has given'. Examples: 439 *bhutartha eṣa eti draṃga dharidae siyati* 'Whether he has really held so many offices'; 33 *yadi bhudartha eva hačhati, eṣa Suḡi giḡaḡa hačhati* 'If it is really so, (if) this Suḡi has taken (them)'; 345 *bhudartha śramanna Anaṃdasena Cuḡopaṣa paride aṃna avamicae giḡaka hoati* 'Really the monk A. has taken corn on loan from Cuḡopa'; 545 *yati bhudartha cojhbo Kaṃci edaṣa aṣpa nidae siyati* 'If really the *cojhbo* Kaṃci has taken his horse'.

The auxiliary verb may occasionally be omitted, e.g. 144 *yati Soḡanaṣa taḡitaḡade pača Kacana na karya kiṭae* (for *kiṭae siyati*) 'If Kacana did no work after being beaten by Soḡana'.

§ 115. In intransitive verbs there naturally cannot be the usual difference between active and passive. Here the difference is that the forms in *-taḡa* have a participial, those in *-ta* a verbal sense, e.g. *mṛtaḡa* 'dead', *mṛta* 'died', *gataḡa* 'gone', *gata* 'went', etc. As usual the form in *-taḡa*, *-tae* is used in making the compound past tenses, e.g. 637 *yaṃ kala kāla kirteya Khotanaṃmi dutiyaya gataḡa āsi* 'When *kāla kirteya* was gone on a mission to Khotan'; 19 *bhudartha Taṃaṣyanae bhagena Yitasenaṣa khulona vaṃti thidaḡa siyati* '(Whether) really T. stays with the herds of Y. in her turn'; 370 *asitae huaṃti*.

§ 116. **Gerundive.** The gerundive is the most common of the verbal forms. It is practically always made with the help of the vowel *i* from the present: *giṃnidavo*, *krinidavo*, etc. Original forms preserved are *martavya*, *gaṃdavo* (never **gachid-*), *vikridavo* (beside *vikrinidavo*), *kartavo*, *nidavo* (beside *niyid-*), *prahatavya* = *pradhātavya*. There is no difference as a rule between verbs in *-eti* and verbs in *-ati*: *vyoṣidavo*, *viṣajidavo*, etc., but we find *uthavedavo* 575 besides *uthavidavo*.

Curious forms made from the past participle are *nikhastidavo* 612, *siṭhidavya* 'to be punished' 482, *ṣaṃdedavo* 721 (from *ṣada* 'pleased').

Forms in *-vo* and *-vya* alternate indiscriminately (§ 53), as do *t* and *d* (§ 19). Thus there are four spellings: *-tavya*, *-tavo*, *-davya*, *-davo*.

Of the three forms *-avya*, *-ya* and *-anīya*, *-avya* is the only one that remains as a living suffix. *-ya* is found in *kica* and *uneya* 'foster-child'; *-aniya* in *karaṃniya* in the phrase *yatha kama karaniya* 'to be done what one likes with'.

SYNTAX

§ 117. The instrumental tends to be confused with the nominative accusative. This process is closely associated with the development of the past participle into an active past tense (cf. § 105). *tena dita*, 'given by him', began to be felt as active 'he gave', and finally the nominative was used as well, *ṣe dita*. This is exactly the same state of affairs as occurs in many of the modern languages. Compare for instance Grierson, *Torwali*, § 21. The subject of tense formed from the past participle is put into the 'agentive' case, which corresponds to the old instrumental. At the same time, as in these documents, the nominative is more frequently used. Examples of the instrumental = the modern agentive are 47 *edeṣa goṭha grhavaṣa Apṣeyena udaḡena sargita* 'Apṣeya flooded their farm and habitation with water'; 506 *Tatiḡena Ṣaṃcaṣa dajḡa picavida kaṃavaṃnae* 'Tatiḡa sent a slave to Ṣaṃca to work'; 574 *kori Muldeyaṣa dajhana pariḡe Raṃṣotsena bhuma krida* 'Raṃṣotsa (-ṛika) bought some land from the slaves of *kori* Muldeya', etc.

Of course these constructions correspond exactly to the ordinary Sanskrit passive constructions, but there is no doubt that they are translated as active because (1) exactly the same state of affairs is found in modern languages such as Torwali, where the construction with the agentive=instrumental is translated as active, (2) in the vast majority of cases the past participle in *-ta* is construed with the nominative where it must be active, (3) the instrumental is used as the subject of the present tense (§ 118), (4) in practically all definitely passive constructions, i.e. with participles in *-taḡa* and with gerundives, the genitive, not the instrumental, is used to express the agent.

§ 118. As a result of the development sketched above, the instrumental is confused with the nominative in all positions, and since the nominative is not distinguished from the accusative also with the accusative.

As nominative: 494 *yatha Paḡinena aloṭa viloṭade purva Moṅhapriyaṣa vaṃti suvarna rna nikhaleti* 'That Paḡina has some gold lent to Mokṣapriya before the plundering (of the realm)'; 622 *Maharayaputra kala Purnābalena lihati* 'The king's son kala P. writes'; 106 *śigra Suḡitena tui uṭena iṣa viṣajidavo* 'Quickly Suḡita and two camels are to be sent here'; 283 *tade aham maharayena sarva karya krida nīadārtha hodemi* 'From that I the king have learnt all about what has been done'; 399 *Cinaṣenena mṛtaḡa* 'C. is dead'.

More rare is *-ena* in the 3rd singular of the preterite: 431 *suveṣṭha Mareḡa paḍichitena for^ota* 'The *suveṣṭha* Mareḡa received'.

As accusative: 69 *adehi śramana Caḡuṣenena viṣarjideṣi* 'You sent the monk C. from there'; 86 *adehi Casminena viṣarjideṣi asmaḡena caraḡena* 'You sent C. our spy from there'; 106 *avi ca iṣa mamnuṣa Saṃghadhāmena Ṣaḡanaṣa vaṃti vikrideṣi* 'And here you sold a man S. to Ṣaḡana'; 272 *cojhbo Somjakena aṭhovaē ajhate jaṃna suṭha abomata (=abhyavamata) kareṃdi* 'The serviceable free-born people very much disregard the *cojhbo* S.'; 540 *Kacana uṭhita Sunaṃtena taḍita* 'Kacana arose and beat Sunaṃta'.

It is used as the stem-form in quasi-compounds like *ogu Kuṣanaṣenena cojhbo Lṭipeyaṣa ca* 198.

Finally, the confusion goes so far that the genitive termination is added on to the instrumental in 345 *Buḡoṣenaṣa prace* 'About *Bu(dha)goṣa*'.

The instrumental plural is rare, but the same confusion is found to occur: 297 *mahatvehi vyochimṇitaṃti* 'The magistrates made a decision'.

§ 119. The genitive is almost exclusively used for expressing the agent with passives, i.e. the participle in *-taḡa* and gerundives. The instrumental occurs very rarely, e.g. 436 *yatha paṃthami gachamana Maṣḍhigeyena baṃnidaḡa matritamṇti* 'They said that while travelling on the road they were bound by Maṣḍhige'. But this is definitely the exception. Examples of the usual genitive construction are: 45 *Cimikae dhitu Rutrayaṣa uniti giṭae* 'The daughter of Cimikae was taken as foster-child by Rutraya'; 24 *yo edeṣa devaputraṣa padamulade bhumačḡitra ladhaḡa* 'The land which was received by them from the feet of his majesty'; 157 *se pirovammi goyaṃṇa na paḍichitaḡa devataṣa* 'That sacrifice of a cow at the bridge was not accepted by the deity'; 735 *palayaṃnaga Suḡitaṣa ladhaḡa huati* 'An exile was received by Suḡita'. With gerundive: 83 *Campeyaṣa isa gaṃdavo, tahi Lpivrasmaṣa piḍita osuka avajidavo* 'By you Lpivrasma zeal is to be shown'; 106 *yo etaṣa maṃnuṣaṣa paḍivati siyati tusya atra samghaṭidavo* 'What information there is about this man is to be put together by you there'; 345 *taha sarva śramana Anaṃdasenaṣa viyoṣidavo huda* 'And so everything was to be paid by the monk Anandasena', etc. etc.

§ 120. Beside the genitive there are occasional examples of the nominative used with gerundives, so that the gerundive becomes a kind of active like the past participle passive. The tendency however is not much developed. Examples are: 58 *yo taya arthadana giṭamṇti ṣadha tanu Puḡo Lpipeya gimnidavya* 'What property they took from her, along with herself, is to be taken by Puḡo and Lpipe'; 119 *Supiye Calmataneṣu... agamṭavya* 'The Supis are going to come to the Calmatanas'; 322 *eṣa lihitaga Khotamni maṃnuṣa prace Kilpaḡiya anatha dharidavo* 'This document about a man of Khotan must be carefully preserved by Kilpaḡiya'; 528 *putra dhidara... sama bhaga gimnidavo* 'The

sons and daughters must receive an equal portion of the inheritance'; 671 *te valaḡa trina saṃvatsari pačavara gimnidavo* 'Those guards must receive provisions of three years'; 722 *ahuno Svarnabala atra gaṃdavva huati* 'Now Svarnabala is going to come there' (cf. 634).

§ 121. The genitive sometimes appears instead of the nominative accusative: 120 *rajadharaḡa mahatvana Šitḡapotḡeyade varidama nivartavidama* 'We stopped and turned back the magistrates in charge of the administration of the kingdom from Šitḡapotḡe'; 370 *asmahu goḡhaṃmi Kroraṃci maṃnušana asitae huamti* 'Men of Krorayina dwelt on our farm'; 655 *teša uthavidati* 'They arose'; 450 *rotaṃnā avi curamaṃsa isa anidavo* 'rotana and curama (two agricultural products) must be brought here'; 422 *Argiceyaša bhratarana Kuvayaša vaṃte bhuma vikridati* 'The brothers of Argiceya sold land to Kuvaya'; 187 *avi eša kaṃiṡha Cimola Kuvayaša taḡita* 'Also this younger (brother) Cimola beat Kuvaya'; 152 *ahuno atra rayaka uṡiyana višaḡidemi* 'Now I have sent royal camels there'. In some of these instances we are certainly dealing with a partitive genitive, e.g. *uṡiyana* 'some camels', *curamaṃsa* 'a quantity of *curama*'. In other cases the genitive is erroneously used, e.g. 187 *Kuvayaša*.

§ 122. In lists of names followed by *ca* the genitive always appears instead of the nominative, so that for instance *cojhbo Yitaka toṃḡa Vuktoša ca* may mean either 'The *cojhbo* Y. and the *toṃḡa* V.' or 'of, to the *cojhbo* Y. and the *toṃḡa* Vukto'. Examples are very frequent, e.g. 9 *yatha edaša stri Caḡhi Parsu Alḡaya Rašparaša ca aḡasitaṃti* 'That C. P. A. and R. carried off a woman of his'; 69 *Larsu Taṃjakaša ca atra višaḡidemi* 'I sent Larsu and Taṃjaka there'; 588 *Kakeya Jeyakasya ca*. The construction is less common in nouns other than proper names, e.g. 71 *eša pituša ca...gataṃti* 'He and his father went'; 561 *aṃklatsa puṡḡetsa odarasya ca* (three kinds of camel); 633 *koḡava tavastaḡa ghridaša ca krinidavo* '*koḡava*, *tavastaḡa* and *ghee* are to be bought'. The same construction is used in a similar list in the plural: 544 *Šramaṃna bramana vuruḡa ṡa ca* 'Monks, brahmans and *vuruḡas*'.

Descriptive nouns and adjectives in agreement with lists of names like these are put in the genitive plural whether the phrase is to be taken as genitive or nominative, e.g. 157 *bhaṭaraḡana priyadarśanana sunamaparikirtitana priyabhratuana cojḡbo Tsmaya tivira Tḡaca caraka Sucamṡasya ca* 'To the masters, fair to see, renowned with good name, the brothers *cojḡbo* Tsmaya, the scribe Tḡaca and the spy Sucamma'. On the other hand as nominative: 709 *eda vivada svaya devaputra śruda, oḡuana Purvayana Rutraya Cinaṡena svveṡhana Athama Śpalḡaya Laṡa . . . cojḡboana Alḡaya . . . vaṡamṡa ca* 'His Majesty heard this dispute himself, the ogus P. R. C. the *svveṡhas* A. Ś. L. and the *cojḡbos* Alḡaya and . . . *vaṡamṡa*'; 578 *cojḡboana Bimḡaṡena Somḡakaṡa ca pruchitamti*; 579 *saḡhi aḡsuana Aḡṡiya Śāṡcāṡa ca* 'witnesses are the *aḡsus* A. and S.', etc. etc.

§ 123. The locative has taken the place of the accusative in expressing the goal with verbs of going, sending, etc. A similar development is to be observed in Apabhraṡsa (Ludwig Alsdorf, *Kumārapālapratibodha*, p. 65): 1, etc. *hastagata rayadvaramṡi iṡa viṡajidavo* 'He is to be sent here to the king's court under arrest'; 14 *yatha eṡa Khotanamṡi dutiyaya gada* 'That he went on a mission to Khotan'; 27 *yaṡ kala Deviṡyae atra Caḡotaṡmi aida* 'When the queen came there to Caḡota'; 506 *Śāṡcaṡa daḡha Sanaca nama tena ṡadha Khemaṡmi palayita* 'Ś.'s slave called Sanaca fled with him to Khema'; 195 *uta yaṡṡamṡi . . . nitamti* 'They took a camel to the sacrifice'; 621 *puna iṡa sveya viṡeṡeṡu aitamti* 'Again they came themselves here into (our) territories'. Parallel with this development the locative is used with the preposition *a*, *yava* and *acamta* 'up to' (cf. § 92).

This rule has no exceptions except in certain stereotyped phrases like *asamṡa gaṡdavo* 'to take possession of' (*āsanam gantavyam*). It follows that *naḡira* in the phrase *naḡira gachamti* (13, 15) cannot be a place-name or even an ordinary noun indicating the goal. It is probably an Iranian word meaning hunting (*B.S.O.S.* VII, 513).

§ 124. The future may be used as a sort of imperfect to express what used to take place: 182 *Kamḡjaka viṡṡaveti yatha eṡa rayaka uṡavala purva rayaka uṡavalana rajade va (ra) ḡhavalala*

deyisyamti. . . *purva rayaka uṭa caturtha divaṣa vudḥim bhaviṣyati* 'Kaṃjaka informs us that he is a keeper of the royal camels, formerly they used to give to the keepers of the royal camels a *vāḥavala*. . . formerly the royal camels used to be *vudḥim* on the fourth day'; 309 *yo tahi purva atra rajadhara huaṃti, tam kala adehi koyimaṃḍhina amna milima* 1 Sa 20 20 10 (*iṣa*) *aniṣyamti* 'Those who were governors before you, at that time they used to bring 150 *milima* of *koyimaṃḍhina* corn'; 376 *caturtha karya, purva māsanumāsa lehare gachiṣyati* 'A fourth matter, formerly letter-carriers used to go every month'; 435 *purva rajadhama yasya rayaka dhamaṃmi maṃnuṣa athava stora marisyati avasa rajadhamaṃde cimtitaḡa huati* 'Formerly it was the law of the realm that of whomsoever a man or beast died in state employment, it was reckoned (i.e. paid out) from the administration'; 621 *eṣa Saḡamovi ogu Aśoḡa ni kilmeḥi Catoveṣa vaṃti bala simaya asiṣyāti* 'This Saḡamovi when young used to dwell on the boundary next to Catove who belonged to the *kilme* of *ogu Aśoka*'. Slightly different is the usage in 634 *tahi iṣa gaṃtavo asi, ajakra divaṣa iṣa na agachiṣatu* 'You were to have come here, up till to-day you have not come'.

This usage is interesting because it is exactly what is laid down in Pāṇini 3. 2. 112 *abhijānavacane lṛṭ* 'The future is used for the past when somebody uses a word recalling something'. The commentary gives us an example: *abhijānāsi Devadatta vayaṃ Kāsmīreṣu vatsyāmaḥ* 'You remember Devadatta, we used to dwell in Kaśmir'. This is obviously the same kind of thing as the examples quoted above. The usage is not found in Sanskrit literature except artificially in imitation of Pāṇini. Pāṇini was a native of the North-West, so this was probably a piece of local syntax, which was not current in the rest of India and so does not appear in literature, but turns up again in the local dialect, where the influence of the grammarians is of course quite out of the question. It is interesting that Pāṇini's statement should be confirmed in this most unliterary of dialects.

It is not quite clear how the future should take over this sense. Instances of the future used as a kind of preterite in various Indo-European languages are given by Brugmann (*Grundriss*², II,

3. 795) and Wackernagel (*Vorl. über Syntax*, I, 217), but there is nothing just like this.

§ 125. As stated above the imperative with the exception of *hotu* has ceased to be used (§ 98). The gerundive in *-tavya* is most frequently used for giving orders. Also both the future and the optative are employed.

Future: 153 *avaśa etaśa maśasya zo sasteyamñi Kumñāga iśa agamiśyati* 'Definitely Kumñāga shall come here on the 20th day of this month'; 157 *tasuca Lpimsu cavala viśajitavya ari Calamma śaca go aniśyati* 'The *tasuca* Lpimsu is quickly to be despatched, along with Calama he will bring the cow'. This is exactly parallel with the English use of the future in giving instructions.

Optative: 152 *avaśa ede kilmeceye tava sarvabhavena jheniḡa siyaṃti* 'Certainly let these people of (my) district be under your care by all means' (cf. 161, 164); 187 *taha ajuvadae kañiṭha bhrata jeṭha bhrata taḡeyati, putra pita taḡeyati* 'So from to-day let the elder brother beat the younger brother, and the father beat the son'. This is the same use of the optative as occurs in the law-books in laying down general rules. 385 *teśa piḡita anati ditae siyati* 'Let very carefully a command be given to them'; 437 *ajuvadae taya kuḡiyae prace Maśḡhigeyaśa eśvarya siyati* 'From to-day let there be ownership for Maśḡhige of that girl'; 696 *yo atra tahi paḡivati bhaveyati emeva mahi lekha viśarjeyaśi* 'Anything that may happen to you there, you might send me a letter about it'.

§ 126. Prohibitions.

ma imci = *mā kimcit* (§ 84) is construed with the present, the future, the optative and the gerundive in expressing prohibitions. The particle *imci* is almost always added to the *ma*. (Exceptions, see *Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions*, Index Verb., *ma*.)

Present: 272 *ede samḡdhae jaṃna varidae hotu, ma imci daraṃnagena jaṃnasa upeḡeṃdi* 'Let these rich people be stopped, let them not oppress the debtor people'; 288 *śe Śamaṃnera tehi, jheniḡa siyati, ma imci abomata kimci kareṃdi* 'Let this Śamaṃnera be under your care, let them not disregard him' (or 'treat him with disrespect'); 364 *ma imci adhamena*

Camakaṣa paride niyati 'Let him not be taken from Camaka unlawfully'. (This may be optative = *neya(m)ti*; for *i=e* cf. § 1.) 386 *avi Caḍotiye varidavya ma iṃci parvatīyana adhamā kareṃti* 'Also the Caḍotans must be prevented, let them not be unjust to the mountain people'; 729 *ma iṃci adhamēna rajadhama pruchamti* 'Let them not administer (lit. "enquire") the law of the realm unjustly'. In most of these examples the *ma*-sentence has practically developed into a subordinate clause so that we can translate 386, for instance, 'The Caḍotans are to be prevented from committing injustice on the mountaineers'.

With Optative: 275 *na vithana kartavo ma omaga siyati* 'It is not to be held back, (the amount sent) must not be short' (cf. 306, 307); 519 *ma iṃci vismaridaḡa siyati* 'Let it not be forgotten'.

With Future: 347 *ma iṃci Caule paṃtha chiṃṃsiyati* 'Let not Caule cut (=stop) his pathway'; 546 *ma iṃci atra Kolḡeyaṣa vithana kariṣati* 'Let him not make a keeping-back (of the camel) from Kolḡeya'; 585 *ma iṃci atra masuṣa viḡa kariṣyati avāṣa anavidavo deyaṃnae* 'Let him not make a hindrance about the wine there, certainly he is to be told to give it'. In 310 we have examples of *ma iṃci* with the future (as with the present, see above) used practically as a subordinate clause. *Cīma Kaṣikaṣa ca picavidavya ma iṃci para raja nikasiṣyati* 'They are to be put into the hands of Cīma and Kaṣika lest they should get away to a foreign kingdom'; and, *teṣa hastammi ede maṃmuṣa iṣa viṣajidavya ma iṃci puna paṃthade pranaṣiṣyati* 'In their hand these men are to be sent here lest they should again escape from the road'.

With Gerundive: 22 *ma iṃci vithana kartavo* 'A holding back is not to be made'; 338 *ma atra maṃtra śrunidavya*.

More common than *ma* with gerundives is *na* (*na iṃci*), which of course originally was the only correct form: 31 *na iṃci tade atikramidavo* 'There must be no transgression from that'; 188 *na nikhalidavo*.

There are only occasional examples of *na* being used in prohibitions otherwise than with gerundives: 399 *bahu varṣa aṃtargata uṭa na preṣeyaṃsi* 'Do not send a camel many years old'.

§ 127. Subordinate clauses. *yo*.

Without verb: 9 *yo garbha, vinaṭha*; 165 *yo iṣa vartamana Lpimsuṣa paride nādartha bhavidavo* 'What happenings (there are) here, you must learn from Lpimsu'.

With Indicative: 31 *yo Lpimo Puḡoena ṣadha danagrahana hoati* '(That) giving and taking which there is between Lpimo and Puḡo'.

With Optative. In relative sentences of a general nature the optative is exclusively used. When the future is used it always conveys a definite reference to the future. From this distinction it is possible to assert that the mysterious form *haḥhati* is properly an optative (cf. § 100). Examples: *yo aṭhovaḡa paḷayaṃnaḡa maṃnuṣa siyati ṣe . . . iṣa ativatidavo* 'What serviceable fugitive man there is, he is to be sent here'; 187 *yo eka bhitiyaṣa vaṃti ede bhratarana avarajeyamti, te varidavo* 'What any of these brothers do wrong one against another, they are to be stopped'; 47 *yeṣa vivada siyati rayadvarammi viṣajidavya* 'Of whom there is a dispute, they must be sent to the king's court'.

With Future: *yo tava kaḥi puna iṣa agamiṣyati emeva ahu teṣa tanu saṃṇa janiṣyami* 'Who of you shall come here in the future, so I will regard them as my own' (*teṣāṃ tanū-saṃjñāṃ jñāsyāmi*); 272 *yo maṃnuṣa cojḥbo Soṃjakena abomata kariṣyati ṣe . . . iṣa . . . viṣajidavo* 'The man who disobeys the *cojḥbo* Soṃjaka, is to be sent here'.

§ 128. The usual expression for 'when' is *yaṃ kala* with the indicative: 35 *yaṃ kala Cinasthanade vaniye agamiṣyati, taṃ kala rna pruchidavo* 'When the merchants shall come from China, then the debt is to be enquired into'; 272 *yaṃ kala Khotamnade yogaḥema bhaviṣyati, rajya sthiṣyati taṃ kala śodheṣyamdi* 'When there shall be security from Khotan and the kingdom shall be established, they will pay'; 183 *yaṃ kala Supiye Caḍo-ḍammi agatamti* 'When the Supis came to Caḍota'.

§ 129. *yadi*.

With Optative: *yadi aṃṇiatha siyati* 'If it is otherwise'; 35 *yadi vivada siyati*; 45 *yati na drṛṭhaḡa na śrudhaḡa siyati* 'If they have been neither seen nor heard of'; 144 *yati Soḡanaṣa taḍita-*

gena Kacana mṛdaḡa siyati 'If Kacana died through Soḡana's beating'; 189 *yati avasiṭhe nikhalamana siyaṃti* 'If they are removing the remaining ones'.

~With Future: 165 *yati tade purima pācima viṣajīṣyatu paṃthammi paraṣa bhaviṣyati, tuo...vyoṣiṣaṣi* 'If you despatch it before or after then and it is stolen on the way, you will pay'; 206 *yati Ayamaṭu vasaṃmi bhuya vithiṣyati* 'If he still keeps it back in Ayamaṭu vasa'; 211 *yati ahuno bhuya eda palpi na ṣpora iṣa aniṣyaṃti na cirena tuo...agamīṣyaṣi* 'If now again they do not bring this tax complete, before long you shall come (yourself)'.

yadi is not used with the present indicative.

§ 130. *yatha* with the indicative is regularly used in introducing quoted speech, the text of a complaint, etc.: 7 *Lṣipe viṃṇāveti yatha triti varṣa huda Arsinaṣa paṛide gavi savatsi 2 vyochimṇiti* 'Lṣipe announces that the third year has come (since) 2 cows with calf were legally awarded to him from Arsina'; 14 *Ṣameka viṃṇāveti yatha eṣa Khotannaṃmi dutiyaya gada* 'Ṣameka announces that he went on a mission to Khotan'.

yatha may be also used meaning 'as', in which case it usually takes the optative: 7 *yatha rayadvarammi vyochimnidaga siyati tena vidhanena niṇe kartavo* 'As the award was made at the king's court, according to that ruling a decision is to be made' (cf. § 45).

Rarely with the future (in the sense of *yahi*): 84 *yatha eṣa atra agamiṣyati, tatheva ṣigra...* 'As (=when) this man shall come there, so quickly...'

§ 131. *yahi* is used with the future in the sense of 'when, as'. The form is probably to be compared with the Avestan *yēzi*: *yahi eda kilamudra atra eṣati*; 289 *yahi gaṃnana pravannaḡa...atra aniṣyati* 'when he shall bring there a document containing the reckoning'. It sometimes means 'if', being indistinguishable from *yadi* with the future: 161 *yahi eta karya tuo mahi kariṣyasi* 'If you do this thing for me'; 634 *yahi tatra cita na kariṣyatu* 'If you do not pay attention to that'.

§ 132. *yava* is used with the optative: *yava asti siyati taha sarva iṣa prahadavo* 'So much as there is, is all to be sent here'.

yena is used either with the future or the optative, meaning 'in order that': 272 *rajade sama sama parikre dadavo yena raja karyani na imci sisila bhaviṣyamti* 'Equal pay to each is to be given from the state, so that the administration of the kingdom shall not become slack'; 320 *avaśa etaśa Pḥuvasenaśa prace cimdedavya oḍidavya, yena atra mama kriṣitaḡa vavitaḡa hastammi gr̥heyati* 'Certainly thought must be taken about this Pḥuvasena, he must be set free so that he can take in hand my ploughing and sowing'.

§ 133. Subordinate clauses without introductory particle.

(a) Conditional: *atra na paribuḡiṣatu hastagata iśa viṣajidavo* 'If you do not get clear about it there, they are to be sent here under arrest'; 223 *aṃñiatha siyati, yathadhamaṇa niḇe kartavo* 'If it is otherwise, a decision is to be made in accordance with the law'; 266 *puna vivada kiṃci siyati* 'If there is any dispute again'; 546 *yam ca Preyaśa vivada siyati, iśa agamiṣyati, iśemi oḡu vasu Bhimaśenaśa vanti garahiṣyama* 'And what dispute of Preya there is, if (when) he comes here, we will complain before the *oḡu vasu* Bhimaśena'; 714 *puna ahuno bhuya palḡi omaḡa viṣajiyatu avaśa tanu goḡhade puna vyoṣiṣatu* 'If again now you send the tax short, certainly you will pay from your own farm'.

(b) Indirect questions: 3 *pruchidavo bhutartha kriti siyati* 'You must enquire whether she has really been bought'; 24 *pruchidavo bhutartha eva haḇhati*, etc. etc.

With Indicative: 520 *pruchidavo eśa dui draṃḡa dhareti puna śpaśavamni dhama kareti* 'You must ask whether he holds two offices and again (=in addition) is performing the duty of scout'.

§ 134. Reported speech.

As stated above (§ 130) people's words are usually quoted introduced by *yatha*. In addition *ityartha* may be appended to quoted speech, or it may be given without any special indication at all. *iti* is no longer used by itself. Examples of *ityartha* are: 124 *Śamasena. . . Lḡipeyaśa ca garahitamti. . . bhuma praceya 'saḇhi nasti hotamti' ityartha* 'Ś. and L. complained about some land. . . (they said) there were no witnesses'; 272 *avi paruvorśa*

uvadae Supiyana paride upasaṃgidavo huati ityartha 'Also since last year there is cause of alarm from the Supis so it is said'.

When reported speech is given without any particle at all it is customary to append the verb 'to be' to participles and gerundives, whereas in straightforward statements this is not done. Instances are: 63 *eda prace tu Apgeyade anati giḍesi, Lpipeyaṣa stwi patena stavidavya hoati* 'Concerning this you have received instructions from Apgeya that the woman is to be restored to Lpipeya'; 144 *tuo anati giḍesi saḥkiyana śavatha śavidavo hoati, yati Soḡanaṣa taḍitagena Kacana mṛdaḡa siyati avimḍama maṃnuṣa vyochiṃnidavya hoati* 'You received a command that an oath was to be sworn by the witnesses and that if Kacana had died through Soḡana's beating a man was to be awarded as recompense'; 206 *avi ca imade lekha gata tahi putra Apita Sujatena śadha masu isa anidavya aṣi* 'Also a letter went from here that your son Apita along with Sujata was to bring the wine here'; 506 *avi samaya kiṭaṃti, śe dajha Śraṣḍha goṭhaṃmi na oḡidavya huati tava Śaṃcaena kaṃavidavo huati yava Tataḡa Bhatraṣa ca agamanammi* 'Also they made an agreement that the slave Śraṣḍha was not to be left on the farm, he was to be made work by Śaṃca until the arrival of Tataḡa and Bhatra'; 160 *mahaṃte vṛdhi-jaṃna iṃthu maṃtreṃti cojḥbo Lpipeyaṣa Sacammi goṭha ohara titaḡa uhati, udaḡa bhiṣa na titaḡa uhati* 'The very old people speak thus, that the yield (?) of a farm in Saca was given to *cojḥbo* Lpipeya but water and seed were not given'.

NOMINAL COMPOSITION

§ 135. The last member of a dvandva is usually inflected in the singular. A few examples of the old type remain, e.g. *pitaputre* 715 'father and son', *edeṣa pitaputrana* 71, *ede bharya pate* 632.

In 450 *putradhidarehi* is plural because it means 'sons and daughters'. Examples of the usual singular inflection are: *pitumadue* 164, *madupitusya* 109, *hasta padami* 339, *Khema Khotamnade* 283, *Calmadana Caḍodade* 246, *śubhaśubhaṣa* 165, *danagrahana*.

This development is further attested inside India in Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions, e.g. *C.I.I.* II, 12, *matapitarām*, whereas the Aśokan texts still always use the plural *matapituṣu*.

§ 136. There has developed in this language a principle of group-inflection, by which the last member only of a nominal group is inflected, e.g. *cojhbo Yitaka tomga Vuktoṣa ca* 'To the *cojhbo* Yitaka and the *tomga* Vukto' (on the use of the same form for Nom. and Gen. see § 122). With feminine last 566 *Kuṣṣuta Tilitamaae ca*. It is not always easy to draw the line as to where ordinary cases of Nominal Composition end and where this loose stringing together of nouns begins. That is noticeably the case in the type quoted in the next paragraph, which corresponds in a way to the Sanskrit Karmadhāraya. In the case of ordinary dvandvas it is doubtful in the light of these facts whether e.g. *Khema Khotamnade* should be called a compound, especially when it is considered that in making accumulations of substantives the particle *ca* is not usually employed, e.g. 19 *coḍaga paḍevara parikraya dadavo* 'Clothing, food and wages must be given'. Similarly with verbs: 9 *agāsitaṃti taḍitaṃti* 'They carried off and beat'.

§ 137. Examples of Karmadhāraya are: *cojhbo Tamjakaṣa*, 43 *stri Suḡisae*, 4 *kori Rutrayaṣa*, 55 *rayaka khulana*, 133 *priya nivasaga Svaneyaṣa*, 248 *mahaṃta rajakaryena*, 24 *edaṣa dajha Sarpigaṣa vanti*, 32 *Peta-avanemci Sagapeyaṣa*, 152 *priyabhratu soṭhamga Lḥipeyaṣa*, 245 *edaṣa pitu cojhbo Ṣamaṣenaṣa*, 575 *maya rajadivira sramamna Dhamapriyena*.

In all these cases the words hang very loosely together, and they must be regarded as group-inflection, rather than compounds in the proper sense of the term.

Examples are quite common in the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of N.W. India, which shows that the usage was widespread and not a peculiarity of this particular dialect. Cf. *C.I.I.* II, p. cxv, *mahadanapati Patikasa*, *erjhuna Kapasa*, *maharaja rajatitaja Hoveṣkasa*.

§ 138. Genitive Tatpuruṣas are very common: *anati lekha*, *rayadvarammi* 16, *palḥi uta*, *viṃṇati lekha*, *padamulade*, *khula*

uṭa, parikra aṃna 25, *goṭhakarya* 31, *Cinasthana* 35, *aṃna nadha* 'pack of corn' 68, *aṃna śeṣa* 140, *ghrita pasu* 141, *go yaṃṃa* 155, *gaṃnana pravaṃnaḡa* 'document of accounts' 159, *palṭi dhāma* 164, *raya saṅhi* 165, *rajakaryami* 272, *bhuma muli* 624, *maharaya-putra* 622.

Unlike later Sanskrit the Tatpuruṣa compound is practically never made with a personal name as the first member. They say *Lṭipeyaṣa hastammi* (4) *Cimḡeyaṣa śatade* 82, *Catoaṣa goṭhade* 621, etc. etc.

§ 139. Bahuvrihis are rare: *mahanuava, ṣovarṣi* '6 years old', *catuvarṣaḡa* (etc.), *ṇadartha, maṃnuṣa rupa*, 324 *paṣuvalana stri Kroae pramuhanam*.



Part II

INDEX

A

a = ā rather than ca (?), § 92.

akas: (*aḡas, aḡajh-*). = **ākāsayati* from *kas* 'to go', i.e. 'to cause to come (to oneself), take away', opposite of *nikas, nikhas* = *niškāsayati* 'eject, send away', 1 *Lpīpeya garahati yatha edaṣa gavi* 2 *seniye Saciñciye aḡasitaṃti, eka gavi paṭama oḡitaṃti, eka khayitaṃti* 'L. complains that soldiers from Saca took away two of his cows: one cow they let go back, one they ate'. *akasida*, § 16; *aḡajhidati*, §§ 22, 109.

akiṣḍha: (*aḡiṣḍha, aḡiṣṭa*). An article of some kind, because it is numbered, not measured, e.g. 431-2 *aḡiṣḍha* 2...*aṃña aḡiṣḍha* 1. Since it is often mentioned in conjunction with *koḡava* 'rug' (see s.v.) it will be an article of similar nature.

akri: § 36, where it is derived from *agrya*. But the meaning is uncertain and it may mean 'uncultivated (land)' as suggested by Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XII, 38. There is hardly enough evidence to decide whether *miṣi*-land or *akri*-land was most valuable. In 571 *miṣi*-land of an area requiring 3 *milima* of seed is worth 60 *muli* (see s.v.). In 222 *akri*-land requiring $\frac{1}{2}$ a *milima* (10 *khi*) is worth 10 *muli*, i.e. the same value. On the other hand in 579 *akri*-land requiring $1\frac{1}{2}$ *milima* is only valued at 13 *muli*. But there is not enough evidence to make any generalisations about price. Cf. under *miṣi*.

aṃkr'atsa: i.e. *aṃklatsa* (*aḡiltsa* in 422 is a variant of this word). An epithet describing camels. It may be = the Toch. B. *aknātsa*, A. *aknats* 'ignorant', meaning an untrained camel. The original form of the Tocharian word was *anknatsa*, which might easily be dissimilated in this dialect into *anklatsa*. *J.R.A.S.* (1935), p. 673.

aḡaṃduḡa: § 16. = *aḡantuka-*.

aḡiltsa: Probably = *aṃklatsa* above. *Anusvāra* is often omitted (§ 47) and the *g* instead of *ḡ* indicates its presence, because simple intervocalic *g* becomes *ḡ* (§ 16).

Aṃkvaka: (*Aṃḡoka*, etc. § 7). The name may be Chinese An-chou according to Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 49, 50.

aḡratu: §§ 12, 92.

aḡaṃtu: § 103.

aḡeta: An official repeatedly mentioned side by side with *yatma* (see s.v.), both of whose functions seem to have been closely connected with the collection and delivery of the tax (*palḡi*); cf. 57, where

the *aḡeta* and *yatma* are responsible for conveying *palpi*, 714; an investigation is being held into the conditions of collecting the taxes, and the *vasu*, *aḡeta* and *yatma* are commanded to appear. Similar functions appear in 275 and 307. Further, the *aḡeta* possesses judicial functions in connection with legal transactions, e.g. 640 *eṣa likhitaḡa rayakade aḡeta Lpīpatḡaṣa traghade bhuma praceya Lustuaḡa anada dharidavo* 'This document from the royal administration, from the department (office) of the *aḡeta* Lpīpatḡa, concerning land, must be carefully preserved by Lustu'; 715 *taha ko paḡima kaḡlammi vasu aḡeta raya dvarammi codeyati...* 'Like-wise whoever at a later time makes a complaint before the *vasu*, or the *aḡeta* or at the king's court'; 437 *yo ca koci paḡima kalammi tāya kuḡiyae kridena caḡkura Kapḡeya ni bhrtare bhrtaputro va praputro va ḡati, yo aḡḡa kilmeci vasu aḡetana ṣa ca biti vara maḡtra nikhaleyamti* 'And whoever at a later time, (either) the brothers of Kapḡeya or his brother's son, or grandson, or any other relative, brings the matter up a second time concerning this girl before the local (*kilmeci*) *vasu* or *aḡetas*.

aḡḡa: To be read *aḡḡa*, cf. § 47. Always used in connection with *muli* 'price, payment'. It seems to mean something like 'additional, complementary, subsidiary' payment, e.g. 571 *ḡiḡa muli uḡa 1 dvarsaḡa paḡcaṣa muliyena, Koḡayena paḡichida aḡḡa aḡḡa muli ḡiḡa masu khi 10* 'He received the price, one camel two years' old worth 50 *muli*. Koḡaya received. Further he took a complementary payment of 10 *khi* of wine.'

aco, **acovina**: The meaning seems to be, as Prof. Thomas points out (*Acta Or.* XIII, 58), a kind of courier or messenger. Not indeed the regular monthly postal service described in 376, but a special courier to report impending attacks from enemies (cf. 133, 139). In that case *aco* might be some kind of outlook post on the frontier.

Against Prof. Thomas' explanation (*ib.*) from Sanskrit *ājava* or *ājūh*, internal *j* never becomes *c*. It became regularly *y* and under certain cases *j* (= *ḡ*), § 17. *acaṣamḡna* 415 (= *aḡeṣamḡna*), if not merely to be regarded as an error, represents *jj*, which might possibly have been unvoiced into *cc* according to § 14.

Acokisḡiya: 371. Apparently name of a local god, cf. *Bhatro*.

Acomena: Place-name. Connected with *aco* (?), cf. the article cited above.

achinati: 'encroach on, appropriate', § 101.

aḡḡati: = *haḡḡati*, § 28.

aḡḡaniya: 703. Read perhaps *raḡḡaniya* 'to be kept'.

ajakra: §§ 36, 91.

Ajiyama: See under *avāna*.

ajiṣamḡae: § 1. *aḡeṣamḡae*, §§ 41, 67 = *adhyeṣanayā*.

ajuvadae: § 11.

- ajhatu**: Only 152. The meaning is quite uncertain, but it seems to have nothing to do with *ajhate*.
- ajhate**: Probably = Av. *āzāta*, N.Pers. *āzād* 'noble' or 'free', cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 509.
- ajhateyaśa**: 242. The alternative reading *ajhateyana* is to be preferred, because otherwise it would not be inflected, cf. § 137; = 'of the free men'.
- ajhi**: 562. Meaning and etymology quite obscure.
- ajho**: Obscure: but there is no reason to think it is connected with *aco* as Prof. Thomas thinks (*Acta Or.* XIII, 60). The letter deals with the transportation of the state supplies of corn and wine. Apart from that the passage containing *ajho* is far from clear. It runs: *uṭa 20 20 tre tre milima nadha kartavo dui vara Piśaliyaṃmi nihaṃṃūtavya, masuaṃmi uṭa 10 4 1 prathame va ajho tre nikhālidavo* 'Forty camels are to be loaded with 3 *milima* each (of corn), and the two-thirds are to be stored at Piśali. For the *masu* fifteen camels are to be got out... (?)...'. Certainly *uṭa* is the subject of *nikhālidavo*, but is *ajho* another nominative parallel to it or some kind of adverb? Since we are dealing with wine it might be suggested that *ajho* = S. *āsava* (cf. §§ 7, 22), but that also fails to make the passage clear.
- aña**: §§ 41, 88. Declension of, § 88.
- aṭa**: = S. *aṭṭa*, Hindi *āṭā* 'flour'; Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 67.
- aṭha**: § 49.
- aṭhi**: § 49.
- aṭhovaḡa**: = 'ready, fit (for work), capable, available (for use)', §§ 37, 49. The meaning was first pointed out by Prof. Thomas in *Acta Or.* XII.
- aḡini**: Some kind of grain or crop. It is grown by seed (579).
- adha**: § 37.
- aṃṭaḡi**: An epithet of horses and camels. The *ḡ* cannot stand for the suffixal *-ka*, because we never find *aḡi* in these forms. It must be an adjective derived by the suffix *-i* (§ 75) from a noun *antāk*, or *antak*. Probably Iranian, cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 779.
- ativatidavo**: Means 'send, hand over, deliver, dispatch'. Probably = *atipātaya*—rather than *ativartaya*—because *r* is not usually assimilated to *t*, and, in the few instances where it is, a cerebral results, §§ 36, 37.
- atvanam**: § 44.
- adehi**: § 91.
- adha**: § 37.
- adhaṃena**: § 90.
- ana, anati**, etc.: § 44.
- anata, anada**: § 91. Seems to mean 'carefully, well, properly'. It occurs regularly in certain stock phrases, e.g. 1, etc. *eda vivada samuha anada pruchidavo* 'This dispute is to be carefully investigated in person'; 571, etc. *eśa pravannaḡa Koñaya ni miśiyaśa*

praceya divira Ramšotsasa anada tharitavo 'This document concerning the *miši*-(land) of Kofiya is to be carefully preserved by the scribe Ramšotsa'. In 569 and 593 *suha* occurs in place of *anada* in the same formula. *suha* seems to mean much the same as *su* 'well' in 419 *sukrida suhavikrida*. Also in the phrase *avi śpaśa jivida paricaḡena anada račhidavya* (cf. under *śpaśa*). The meaning hardly allows us to equate it with Skt. *ājñaptam* 'ordered'. It is perhaps the same word as Saka *ānata* 'kept preserved' (in the Saka version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*, vide Konow, *S.B.P.A.W.* (1935), pp. 428 ff. *ānata yanda* translates *āraḡsayiṣyatha*). In the Maralbashi dialect the same word appears as *anādu*. This identification is strengthened by the fact that in our documents it is most frequently used with verbs like *rakṡ-* and *dhar-*.

anatiyena: § 70.

anavidetu: § 93.

anahetu: either = *rṇahetu* or *ana-*, is the extended form of the negative prefix which appears occasionally in Prakrit (Pischel, § 77), the meaning being 'without just cause'. Although the treatment of *r-* is irregular (§ 5), the former interpretation is supported by 719, where *Saḡapeya* and *Pḡo* carry off a woman *anahetu*; then the text goes on to say *yo Saḡapeya Pḡośa ca dharaṇṇaḡa hačhati* 'And whatever he (the owner of the woman) shall be owing to S. and P.', etc.

aniyanae: § 103.

aniśati: § 99.

anupurvena: § 90.

anusamti: = *amusandhi* or *āmusandhi* 'adjoining' (cf. Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 79).

apacira: (also written *avacira*, *apcira*). It appears as a kind of measure in the sale of vineyards (*masu śaḡa*) not of other kinds of cultivated land. Ordinary sown land was measured not by area but by the amount of seed which was sown on it (see *bhiḡapayati*), and from 655 this seems to have been the case with vineyards. *Budha-phāmaasa vaṇti miši vikrida, tatra bhiḡapayati milima 1 khi 4 1, masu śaḡa, tatra masu vuta apacira 10 3* 'He sold to B. some *miši*-(land), there the capacity for seed was 1 m. 5 kh., (also) a vineyard; (and) there vines are planted to the extent of 13 *apacira*'. It is clear that *apacira* is some term indicating the number or quantity of vine-plants, and not the area. According to Stein (*Ruins of Ancient Khotan*, p. 247) vines are trained along low fences running in parallel lines. Perhaps *apacira* means 'row', i.e. a row of standard length in which vines were planted.

apanasya: § 86. = *ātmanah*.

apane: §§ 44, 86. = *ātmanah*.

apyam̐tara: § 14.

aprameḡo: §§ 16, 53.

apru: Only 722. Seems to be some noun of relationship belonging to

the native language. Unfortunately no information is available on the actual relationship of the people mentioned.

aprochiti: = *apṛṣṭvā*, § 102.

apsu: Title. There is practically no information as to the nature of their functions. We find them mentioned along with other officials in lists of witnesses, e.g. 571 *cojhbo Kuviñeya saçhi, vasuana Acuñiya Caçhiya Vapikasa ca, apsuaana Šamcā Pitga tomgha Karaṃtsa saça, saçhi Tamcgo, agetana Lpapatga Kuuna Kuviñeya yatma Kuviñeyaça ca saçhi*. Perhaps *tomgha* and *apsu* were functions very closely connected, because the most natural translation is '...of the *apsu*'s *Šamcā Pitga* and the *tomgha Karaṃtsa*', i.e. subordinating the *tomgha Karaṃtsa* to the general conception of *apsu*. Otherwise we would have had *sa ca* after the name *Pitga*. Further, *Karaṃtsa* appears in 579 with the title *apsu*, while *Šamcā* appears at the bottom of this same document with the title *tomgha*.

apñiñanu: Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 432. Konow (*Acta Or.* XIV, 238) equates it with Skt. *abhijñāna*.

ambila: § 45. Possibly the same as *amila* 655, but the meaning of both is quite uncertain.

Ambukaya: Seems to be a title or surname: only 251.

abomata: = *abhyavamata*, §§ 41, 107 = used with *kr* in the sense of 'disobey', 'disrespect', e.g. 371 *yo eša cojhbo Soṃjaka abomata kariṣyati, vacanena na kariṣyati* 'This man who shall disobey the *cojhbo* Soṃjaka and shall not act according to his word'.

abramo: Quite obscure. The *b* suggests that it does not belong to the native language (§ 14).

abhatayutu: 399. One might suggest a reading like *asaṃta *abhuta *yatu tusmağa anartha bhavati* '(They say) things which are not, things which have not been, from which you suffer'.

abhīthe: 272. There is a variant reading *akista* which might be a proper name. *abhīthe* would mean 'desirable, suitable', but it is unusual to find an attributive adjective inflected, § 137 (unless *-e < -ae < -āga*, § 53).

abhirucitağena: § 112.

abhisamitaṃti: 'They came to an agreement'.

amaramnae: § 103.

amahu: § 78.

ayağa: 107. Meaning uncertain.

aya dvāra: = 'revenue', as pointed out by Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 71, quoting the *Kāśyapa Parivarta*, where the same phrase is found.

ayamnae: § 103.

aya Ridhasena: = *ārya R.*, § 42. The word has a purely religious sense 'reverend', as in Buddhist texts, and does not elsewhere occur. The assimilation of *ry* to *y* is not regular (§ 36, cf. *karya*), but religious terms common to Buddhists in general are naturally liable to irregularities.

ayidana: 676. If the correction *asitana* be adopted *caṃa maṃṭsa asidana na nikkhalita* might be translated 'By them having eaten the flesh, the skin was not removed'. But there is no other example of the participle in *-ta* being inflected in this dialect.

ayōgena: Skt. *āyoga*. It is used to denote an additional payment to be made, when an old payment is long overdue, something like interest: e.g. 437, the payment of 3 *muli* has been deferred, consequently a ruling is made *yatha paṭami muli ṣeṣa vithidāe huati taḥa ahuno se muli eka ayōgena giṃmitavo huda muli 4 1 aṃṇiā varita* 'Just as the rest of the price (mentioned) on the document (*paṭṭa*) has been retained, so now that sum is to be received with one *ayōga*, the sum is 5 *muli*, other payment is forbidden'. *eka* is obscure, but it is clear that the *ayōga* is the extra 2 *muli* which have been added owing to deferment of payment. 14, an envoy to Khotan had not been provided with a guard (*valaḡa*) at Caḡota at the expense of the state. Now an order is made that the wages of a guard be paid him *ṣadha ayōgena*, i.e. complete with interest or an extra sum to make up for his own expense and trouble. 68 (two men have eaten a sack of corn belonging to somebody else) *eṣa aṃṇa ṣa ayōgena Opḡe Lpīpeṣa ca giṃnidavya* 'This corn plus interest is to be received by O. and L.' There do not seem to be any documents recording a deed of loan on interest, so if usury was practised, which it hardly can have been on a large scale, there is no means of learning what the general word for 'interest' was. *ayōga* always occurs where an additional payment has to be made by people who have neglected paying sums due for a long time. *āyoga* in the sense of 'something added on to, an addition, extra' is a quite natural meaning, although it does not appear to be used in Sanskrit exactly in this sense.

ara: § 28. = *hāra* (?).

arabhtidavya: § 116.

ari: = *ārya* (?). *ārya* certainly becomes *aya* in one place (see above), but there is a specifically monkish term. *ari* does not seem to be associated with any particular function, like many of the titles, so that a general meaning something like 'sir', which *ārya* might easily have, is the most likely. On the other hand the term is not applied to very many people.

ariḡi and ariḡaḡa: Only 109. Among a list of things sent as a present. According to Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 78 = *ārḡi* and *ārḡaka* 'ginger'. The phonetics are irregular, but such a word is likely to exhibit irregularities due to borrowing.

arivaḡa: Probably means 'guide'. The *arivaḡa* is frequently mentioned as conducting envoys to Khotan: 135 *avi arivaḡa maṃṃṣa aḡhovaḡa 1 ḡadavo yasya anupurvena gaṃdavo siyati etaṣa arivaḡaṣa tanu storena gaṃdavo* 'Also a capable *arivaḡa*-man is to be given (to the envoys) who shall go in front of them. This *arivaḡa* must go on his own beast.' Similarly 22, 253. The office was hereditary:

438 *Bhimaṣena viṃṣāveti, eṣa pītara pita uvadae na arivaḡa asti Khotamni mata na anada janati, arivaḡa na kartavo* 'Bh. informs (us): he is not an *arivaḡa* from his father and ancestors, he does not properly know the Khotan *mata*, you make him an *arivaḡa*, he is not to be made an *arivaḡa*'. *mata* unfortunately is obscure. Skt. *mata-* does not seem to give any good sense. Similarly in 10 a man complains that his paternal profession is *klasemci* not *arivaḡa*. Etymology uncertain. Prof. Thomas suggests Skt. *arpaka-*, i.e. through **aripaka-* with svarabhakti.

are: 2 *are khi* 1. Apparently the same as *ara* in 176 *ara khi* 1. Perhaps 'half a *khi*' < Ir. *ardaka*. For *r* < *rd*, *r* compare *nokṣari* < *navaka sard-*.

arōgi: § 9.

areṣa: (and *areṣahi*). Obscure.

arōgemi: § 97.

arohaḡa: Only 420. Uncertain; perhaps something like the saddle of a camel; = *ārohaka*.

Argiyōḡisavae: § 69. Read *Argiyōḡ (= tḡ)isaae*.

artaṡaṡa: 431. Some object.

artha: § 55.

arnavaḡi: A kind of cloth measured in hands (*hasta*) 83, which may be white (*ṣpeti* 83, which seems to show that the word is feminine).

aryaḡa: 654. A title, presumably = *āryaka*, cf. *ari* and *aya*.

arṣaḡa(e): Occurs before a few proper names, namely *Apeṣna* (87, 147, 210, 531), *Kolpīsa* (560), *Uvaṣena* (543). It may be the Iranian proper name *Arṣaka-* (*Arsaces*).

alamḡila: Only 109. Some article; *ṣa alamḡila* 'along with an *a-*'.

a la va la: 499. Reading uncertain.

alena: Epithet of *koḡava* 'rug', 'blanket' 549; = **ālayana-* 'rug for lying down in (?)'.

aloṡa: § 18. = **āloṡta* 'plundering'; single *ṡ* would have become *ḡ*.

avaḡaḡena: §§ 16, 21.

avāna: Hardly from Skt. *āpaṅa* 'bazaar', because the meaning is rather 'village' or 'parish'. It might first have meant a local market, then market-town including the land round it: 124 *Peta avāneṃci bhūmana praṡe* 'Concerning the lands belonging to the parish of Peta'. The word is most likely of Iranian origin: O.Pers. *āvahana*, Arm.L.W. *avan*, both meaning 'village'; Saka *vāna* < (*a*)*vāna*, which shows that the second *a* was long. The meaning is obviously nearer than that of Skt. *āpaṅa*. *nagara* is used as a synonym for *avāna* in 25, *peta nagarammi*.

The *avānas*, always mentioned by name (the word *avāna* does not occur independently), are the following:

(1) *Yave avāna*; at 497 it appears as *deviyae yaṡe avānammi*.

(2) *Peta avāna*; in 494 as *deviyae peta avānammi*.

(3) *Catiṣa devi avāna*; also *Catiṣa deviae a°* 334, etc., and *devi Catisae a°* at 295.

(4) *Yirumḡhina avāna*, only 297.

- (5) *Ajiyama avāna*.
 (6) *Vaṇṭu avāna*.
 (7) *Traṣa avāna*.
 (8) *Navāga avāna* 366.
 (9) *Tomgraka maharayaṣa avanammi* 549.
 (10) *Devīyae ogu Anuḡaya ni avanammi* 629.
 (11) *Paḡina avanammi* 750.

Note also that Armenian *avan* is similarly compounded with proper names, e.g. *Vatařš-avan* (Hübsehmar, *Arm. Gr.* p. 79).

The *avānas* frequently appear as administrative units for collecting taxes (cf. 42, 121, 165, 468) or other purposes (e.g. 136, 296, 439). In 16 Peta *avāna* is put in charge of a *caṅkura*. Individuals mentioned in the documents often have their *avāna* referred to, showing that it was an important unit of administrative classification.

avamicae: § 55. Perhaps = *apamityaka*, rather than *apamityāya*.

avalika: § 75. Mentioned side by side with *kojava* 'blanket, counterpane', and *namata* 'rough coat' is perhaps an object of somewhat similar nature.

avale: Only 431-2. Unknown.

avaśa: §§ 7, 41. *avaśe*, § 53.

avasama: Not = *āvāsāt*, because the ablative is always in *-ade* never *-ama*, § 56. The meaning seems to be something like 'unsuitable, improper': 69 *mahi iśa avasama Bhoti-nagarade amna nikhalamnae* 'It was not proper for me here to remove the corn from *Bhoti-nagara*', or 'It was not opportune that the corn should be removed'; 29 *tatra sačhi iśa nasti, udiśa avasama hoda iśa niče karaṇnae* 'On that point there are no witnesses here. Therefore it was impossible to make a decision here', or 'It was held that we should. . .'. Compare Saka *viysama* 'improper' (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 141) which is opposed to *presama* 'suitable'. The words must be Indian not Iranian. Skt. **apasama* and **prasama*.

avijida: § 17.

avimdhama: 'recompense, penalty', e.g. 144 *yati Soḡanaṣa taḡitaḡena Kacana mṛdaḡa siyati avimdhama maṇṇuśa vyochiṇṇidavya hoati* 'If Kacana (a slave) died through Soḡana's beating, a man (i.e. slave) must be adjudged to the owner in recompense'. The term *avimdhama* includes both the making good of losses caused to other people by illegal action, e.g. 676 (somebody having stolen a cow) *udiśa triguna avimdhama chinnidama* 'Therefore we have decided on a restitution of three times the amount', and also punishment, retribution in the form of beating, etc. (209, 419, etc.).

avidhameya: The alternative reading *avisammeya* = *abhisamaya* is to be preferred.

aśpa: = *aśva*, § 49. *aśpaṃca*, § 62.

asade: i.e. *ajhade* (z). Internal *s* was voiced, so appears written for *z*.

asadhanae: = *āsādanāya* 'to settle' (Act.).

asaṃna: § 123. Only in the phrase *asaṃna gaṇḍava*. The meaning seems to be 'take possession of'. Compare *possess* from *sedeo*. Cf. § 123.

asaṃne: 373, is from *āsanna* (opposite to *tura = dūra* in the next line).

astamga: See under *hastama*.

asmaḡa: § 78.

ahati: § 96.

ahu: §§ 78, 96.

ahurṇeva: = *ahuno eva*.

ahuno: § 91.

Ā

āmechīta: § 50.

I

iṃci: § 84.

ichiyati: §§ 1, 100.

itaṃca: (and *idaṃca*), § 82.

itu: §§ 12, 91.

ityartha: § 134.

iṃthuaṃmi: § 91.

ima-: § 82.

iyo: § 82.

iśa: § 91. *iśemi*, § 91.

istriae: § 10.

U

ukas-: *ut + √kas* 'to go', meaning 'depart, go away'. *ukasta*, § 107.

učhivana: Lüders, 'Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises', *S.P.A.W.* (1933), pp. 6, 7.

ujhmayuḡa: An adjective applied to *manuśya* (so read instead of *masuśya*) 283 and *jaṃna* 373. Perhaps an Iranian word meaning 'skilled, experienced', Pahlavi *uzmāyišn* 'experience', *uzmūtak* 'skilled'. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 780.

uṭa: §§ 25, 37, 49. *uṭavala*, § 20; *uṭi-*, § 68.

uṭha: § 25.

uthaviyadi: 661. Optative, not = *uthāpyate*, § 100.

uthiśa: § 26.

udiśa: §§ 41, 102.

uṃna: § 37.

unidaḡa: (also *uneyāḡa*, *unidi* (Fem.)). The forms are used indiscriminately, compare 538 *stri Ramasriae unidi giḡae huati* with 542 *sā kuḡi Ramasriae nama uneyāḡa giḡae*. = 'adopted (child)'. The custom was very prevalent, since numerous documents refer to it. A payment was made by the adopters to the parents which was called *kuṭhačhira* (see s.v.). In 569 it is laid down that they are not to be treated as slaves: *eśa Śaṃmaṃnera unidaḡa nā dajha kaḡavo nā vikrimidavo... emu kaḡavo yatha uniya maṃnuśa* 'This Ś. (is an) adopted (child), he is not to be made a slave, not to be sold, he is

to be treated like an adopted person'. With the permission of their masters, slaves could adopt children in the same way, cf. 39.

From *un-nī* in the sense of 'bring up', 'rear' (39 *unida vardhida*).

upagata : § 20.

Upateyu : = *Upadeva*, cf. *Jivateyu* and § 13.

upamna : § 107.

upari : § 91. = **uppari*, cf. Panj. *juṣṣar*, Hind. *ūpar*, and J. Bloch,

L'Indo-Aryen, p. 92.

upaśamghidavo : § 46.

uyōga : (?). Apparently title of some kind.

uryāgana : See *vuryāga*.

uvadae : §§ 29, 102.

uhati : § 28.

E

eka : § 16. Declension of, § 88.

ekaḡo : § 53.

ekhara : Title or surname. The *kh* shows that it cannot belong to the native language of Kroraina, which was quite devoid of aspirates (or spirants : *kh* may stand for *x*).

eti : § 87.

etriśa : § 5.

ema : § 50. *emaveca*, § 11.

emaṃtara : (and *imaṃtara*). = 'in the meanwhile, during this interval'. From *ima-* and *antara*; *emaṃtara* seems to be due to the influence of *ema*.

eśvari : § 9.

O

ogu : One of the commonest of the titles in the documents. The *g* in the middle of the word is striking. Otherwise both in the Prakrit and in native names *ḡ* appears in these positions : *bhaḡa*, *Caḡu*, *Oḡaca*, etc. There is no other word in which *g* appears regularly. In this word it is invariable. This perhaps indicates that it was pronounced **oggu*. Anyway the term cannot have belonged originally to the native language of Kroraina, because it was devoid of voiced consonants (§ 14).

As regards its significance, it appears to have been about the highest title that existed, since in lists of people with their titles the *ogu* comes first, e.g. 732 *astama pruchitaṃti ogu Jeyabhatra caṃkura Catarāḡa cūvalaina Tirāḡhara cojhbo Soṃjaka Lpīptaśa ca*, 574 *tatra saḡhi hutāṃti ogu Dhamāpala kori Muldeya kitsatsa Lustuaśa ca*. Similarly 709 (the king—the *ogus*—the *suveḡhas*—*cojhbo*, etc.), 582, etc. The title *guśura* seems to have been connected in some way with *ogu*. A number of people appear both as *ogu* and *guśura*, e.g. Kuśanaśena, Cakurata, Aśoḡa; while in the document 584 *eśa muṃtra guśura Jebhatra caṃkura Caraḡa cojhbo Soṃjakaśa ca* is the same formula (and the same people)

- who appear in 582 *eṣa mu(dra) oḡu jeyabhatra camkura Ca(taraḡa) (co)jho Soṃjakaṣa ceṣa*. About twenty-five *oḡus* are mentioned.
- oḡana:** Some kind of crop measured in *mīlīmas* and *khis* (154). Perhaps connected with Toch. *oko* 'fruit', *okar* 'plant'.
- oḡeti:** § 99. = 'let go', 'send away', 'allow': 211 *edaṣa miṣiyammi khadaṃmarthi Kake Lpīpeṣa ca vaḡaviyani oḡitaṃti* 'K. and L. let mares loose in his cornfield to eat'; 18 *kriṣivatra na oḡeti karaṃmae* 'He will not allow him to do cultivation'. The etymology is not clear. It may be connected with Pali *oḡḍeti* 'throw away, reject' (Pv. A. 256 *oḡḍayāmi = chaḡḍayāmi*) and *oḡḍeti* meaning 'to set or lay a snare' (*pāsa*).
- oḡara:** Epithet of the camel. Perhaps = *udāra*, cf. A.M. *orāla* beside *urāla*.
- omaḡa:** § 7. = *avamaka* 'short' (of measure).
- oya:** § 17. = *ojas-*.
- orovaḡa:** = **avaropaka* (?). The meaning is not clear.
- osuḡa:** §§ 41, 48.
- osti:** 7. Apparently a mistake for *asti*.
- ohara:** 160. *goḡha-ohara = avahāra*, perhaps the 'produce of a farm', which can be removed (*ava-hy*) annually at harvest time.

K

- ka-:** § 83. *kaḱi*, §§ 49, 84.
- kajaha varṃnaḡa:** 583. Lüders (*Textilien*, p. 21) equates it with *kaṡa thavaṃne* (141), assuming that *ha* is miswritten.
- kaṃjhavaliyana:** Only 725 *avi(k)amṃjhavaliyana paḡpīyaṣa anada pricha ganana kartavo*; the meaning is obviously 'treasury-officials'. *kaṃjha-* = Ir. *ganza-*, another dialectical form of *gaṃja-*, which also appears in the documents, cf. *gaṃṃi*. The last member of the word is obscure.
- kaṃi draṃḡa:** = *gaṃṃi draṃḡa*, cf. § 14.
- kaṡa:** 607. = *kāṡṡha* (?).
- kaṡavo:** § 37.
- kaṡṡa:** § 49.
- kataṃti:** § 5.
- katari:** 505. Pali *kattari* 'scissors, shears', Skt. *kartari*.
- katma:** 160. = (?), *katma kriṣivatra karaṃti*.
- katvetha:** 470. = 'you have made'. Read *kaṡetha* (?).
- kampo:** 43. Apparently something made of gold.
- kabhodha:** Perhaps 'grazing-land, pasture', cf. B.S.O.S. VII, 513. Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or. XIII, 70*) thinks that it was communally owned. Cf. s.v. *naḱira*.
- kamita:** § 83.
- kamuṃta:** 207. Lüders (*op. cit.* p. 6) equates it with *kamaṃta* (see s.v. *camḡrikamaṃta*), but without adequate reason.
- kaṃaveti:** §§ 29, 104.
- kayavatra:** 534. (?). It looks Indian. *kācapātra* ('glass vessel') (?). *c* becomes *ś* (*f*) rather than *y*. But the signs are easily confused.

karaṃniya: § 116.

karitu: § 93. *karemana*, § 101; *karisadi*, § 41.

karoma: 505. Some object.

karsenaṅva: Some kind of official. Closely connected with the *śadavida*. They are mentioned together 482, 590. The *karṣṇaṅva* is comparatively rarely mentioned, only about six or seven individuals bearing that title.

kala: Title. It may mean 'prince' because *Kala Puṃṅābala* is called *maharayaṅputra* 622, 634. About ten *kalas* are mentioned.

Prof. Thomas has suggested (*Festschrift...H. Jacobi*, p. 51) that it is the same word as appears as *kara* in *Kujula Kara Kadphises* on the coins of that monarch, while *guṣura* = *kujula*. The identifications are exceedingly probable, although the phonetics are not easy to explain. On the other hand titles like these are liable to be borrowed from kingdom to kingdom, undergoing phonetic changes *en route*. Cf. s.v. *guṣura*.

kālihari: 399, and *kalihari* 709, 'quarrel'. Cf. Saka *kalahāraa* 'quarreller' and Lüders, *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 641.

kavaḅi: Perhaps = *kavacikā*, which would give *kavaḅi* (*kavaṣi*) in this dialect (§§ 14, 74 *ikā* > *i*, § 17 *c* > *ś*, *f*). From 505 it is clearly an article of dress.

kaṣa: 400. Epithet of *aṃna* 'corn'.

kaṣpiya: 534 *kaṣpiya* 4 (in a list of objects).

kaṣara: 606: *śramaṃna Ayila viṃṅāveti yatha eḁaṣa stri Cadiṣaae maṃma kaṣara dahita* 'The monk Ayila says that the woman Cadiṣa has burnt his *kaṣara*' (*eḁaṣa...maṃma*, anacoluthon). Compare Toch. A. *kāṣār* = Skt. *kāṣāya* (also B.). The Toch. forms perhaps find their explanation in this dialect. Beyond that the origin of the *r* is mysterious.

kākāni: 399. (?)

kārsenade: 86. Read probably *kārsenaṅva*. The officials *śadavida* and *karsenaṅva* are mentioned together in other places, cf. s.v. *karsenaṅva*.

kāla: Cf. s.v. *kala*.

kikama: § 84.

kica: § 41.

kicamaḅa: 'due, owing' (of tax, etc.). Etymology unknown.

kiḁa: §§ 5, 18, 107.

kiṃtra: A surname. Cf. *kiṃdari*.

kitsaitsa: Title. The *kitsaitsa* was of very high rank, often being mentioned along with *kālas* (581, 606, 640, etc.), also with *tasuca* (495, 648). The functions of the *kitsaitsa* were of a judicial nature (e.g. 495, 581, 606, 719, 730). Connected possibly with Toch. B. *kitsaitsaṅe* 'age'. The meaning 'elder', i.e. member of a sort of council of elders, would be quite appropriate. Cf. *J.R.A.S.* (1935), p. 673.

kiṃna: §§ 1, 83.

kirsoṣa: Epithet of *uṣi* 'female-camel', 570.

kilamudra: 'wedge-seal', i.e. wedge-shaped wood on tablet with the royal seal on. Stein, *Ruins of Ancient Khotan*, p. 368.

kilme: = 'estate'; *kilme(m)ci* 'tenant' according to Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or.* XIII, 63).

It is not easy to be quite sure about the precise meaning of the word. It seems to be the same as the Toch. A. *kālyme* 'direction, district' and often a general meaning like that is suitable: *Yāve avānaṃmi kilme-ci* 'belonging to the district of Yāve avāna'. But there are certain indications that it has a more specified meaning. Notably 374 *samvatsari palpi cimḍitaḡa yo kilmeciyana pariḍe yaṃ ca rajade* 'The year's tax was assessed, both that from the *kilmecis* and that from the *rājya*'. That may mean that the *rājya* was the land directly owned by the king, while the *kilmes* were fiefs or estates granted to the nobility of the realm. The titles of people who have *kilmes* under them are those which for other reasons are known to have been the most exalted. Most frequently *ogu* (209, 254, 393, 621, 639, 734). Also *caṃkura* (437 and 16, where Peta *avāna* is handed over to the *caṃkura* Arjuna), *kala* (256, 367) and possibly *cojho* (152). No one without a high title is mentioned as having a *kilme*, so that it is not just a case of ordinary landed-proprietorship and tenancy but something more approaching feudalism. Cf. also *J.R.A.S.* (1935), p. 674. A connection may be suggested with the 'Lord's land' of the Tibetan documents (Prof. Thomas, *J.R.A.S.* (1934), p. 96).

kiṣaṃnae: § 5. *kiṣivaṃnae*, § 104.

kukuḍa: § 18.

kuṭhāchira: § 49. Technical term indicating the payment made by people adopting a child to the parents (cf. s.v. *uneyāḡa*). This usually consisted of a horse (45, etc.) or camel (569). Except in 741, the word always occurs in the genitive, e.g. 569 *kuṭhāchiraṣa uṭa aklatsa ditaḡa* 'An *aṃklatsa* camel was given (as a return for) *kuṭhāchira*', i.e. as a return for having nourished the child in its earliest infancy, a payment was due to the parents from the people who adopted the child. *kuṭha-* is obviously the participle of *kuṣ-* 'extract' (connected with *cūṣ-* (?)), meaning the milk which had been sucked by the child. The *ṭh* instead of *th* is unexplained (§ 49). The genitive is difficult unless we understand something like *kuṭhāchiraṣa pratikara*.

kuḍa: 358 = *kuḍaḡa*.

kuḍaḡa: Fem. *kuḍi* (*i = ikā*) 'boy' and 'girl'. The word is common in a number of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Panjabi *kuṛi* fem., Lahnda *kuṛā* masc., *kuṛi* fem., etc., chiefly in the languages of the North-West. A connection with N.Pers. *kūdak* 'child' is not out of the question.

kuthala: Both meaning and etymology are difficult. It might appear from 327 *Kolaṣiyaṣa vaṃti miṣiyaṃmi kuthala 10 3 vikrida* 'In *miṣi*-land he sold 13 *kuthala* to K.' that it was a unit of land-

- measurement. On the other hand land is not usually measured by area, but by the amount of seed it takes (see s.v. *payati*, *bijapay*^o), and the fact that *kuthala* is placed before *bhuma*, qualifying it (e.g. 419, 582), indicates that it was a particular form or kind of land. Since undoubtedly the *kuthalas* are numbered (see above) a meaning something like a 'strip of land' would be most adequate, and *kuthala bhuma* would mean land divided up in such a fashion. Such systems of land-tenure are of course common. The word cannot belong to the native language because of the aspirate *th*. Nor can it be Iranian because internal *th* would appear as *h* at this time (both in Saka and Pahlavi). As a rule (§27) *th* would become *h* in Indian words too, so that the word may represent **kutthala*.
- kurora**: Epithet of land, *bhuma kurora*. Perhaps = N.Pers. *kurār* = 'a plot of land with a raised border prepared for sowing'; *B.S.O.S.* VII, 780.
- kulola**: § 28.
- kuvāna**: *kuvāna* 430. (1) Epithet of corn (*aṃna*), collected as tax. There are three technical terms applied in this sense: *kuvāna*, *koyimaṃdhina*, *tsaṃghina* (e.g. 272), but their precise signification is not clear. (2) in 318 *kuvāna prahuni*; compare Saka *kuham thau* = Skt. *cailapaṭṭa*.
- kuśava**: § 2.
- kusamta**: Surname or title.
- kuhani**: (and *khvani*, *khvānemci*). = 'The Capital' or 'Citadel'; cf. Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XII, 61. 530 *mahanuava maharaya lihati . . . yatha . . . iśa kuhaniyammi* ' . . . here in the *kuhani*', i.e. Krorayina, the capital from which the great king is writing. In 489 the *Khvānemci Bhičhu-saṃgha* lays down the ecclesiastical rules for the provincial *saṃgha* at Caḍota.
- keti**: § 87.
- ko**: § 83.
- kojalya**: § 21.
- kojava**: = Pali *kojava* 'a rug or cover with long hair, a fleecy counterpane'. Both words may be connected with *kaucapaka*, which is enumerated among the different kinds of rugs (*kambala*) at *Arth. Śāstra*, II, II. 100.
- kotareyana**: 414. Obscure.
- kopi**: 198. Read *ko pivaraḡa* 'whichever is fat' instead of *kopi varaḡa* in the text.
- kobala**: Surname. = *koṃpala* (?).
- koyimaṃdhi**: (and *koyimaṃdhina*; in *koyimaṃ* 38, *-dhi* has perhaps been omitted by mistake). The term is applied to a particular class of officials in charge of collecting grain, e.g. 38 *Apeṇnaṣa pitu Opḡeya Koyimaṃ (dhi (?)) hoati*; 309 *taṃ kala adehi koyimaṃdhina aṃna mliṃḡ iśa 1 sa 20 20 10 (iśa) aniṣ . . . (ti)* 'At that time the *k.s* used to bring from there 170 *m.* of corn'. Cf. *tsaṃghina*.
- korara**: Surname or title. Applied to Suḡita (73, 181, 577), Rutraya (147, 180, 382) and Cakrala (334).
- kori**: An official whose functions seem to have been most closely

connected with the royal herds. Thus in 4 *kori* Rutraya is given instructions about the dispatch of camels. Further orders about camels are given to *koris* in 40, 64, 228, about horses in 213, 223, 228. They occasionally however appear in other functions, namely legal disputes, e.g. 32 (instructions to *kori* Rutraya about a marriage dispute), 49 (Rutraya: along with *cojho* Yitaka and *tomga* Yukto: dispute about property).

koro: 383. Apparently a kind of camel.

korno: 46 *striyana korno dhidare 2* (? *striyana korno* . . . or *striyanakorno*). Quite obscure.

koltarša: Surname or title. Applied to Kuunġe (66), Salveta (210, 281) and Tsuġenamma (266).

košalġa: § 16.

košava: Cf. *košava*.

krataġa: 534 *krataġa 2* (in a list of objects).

kriřha: 580 *dhamġa deyaṃti ařpa tre na kri řha prahara satati* (*nakriřha* or *na kriřha* (?); epithet of horse (?)).

krita: § 5.

kriřaġa: § 74.

kriřati: § 5.

kriřivatra: § 76.

kriřivammae: § 103.

✓ **kremeru**: 318, 660. Some object which has to do with cloth or clothing, as appears from 660.

krona: 163. Epithet of *uřa* 'camel' (or *nikrona*).

klaseṃci: Officials whose duties were concerned with looking after horses and camels connected with the army: 562 *ede Kuunġe Oġana řaca caura seni klaseṃciye, tusya puna rayaka uřavala karetu, yo paṃca seniyade aři siyaṃti eda aṃña rajadhamā kareṃti, taha suřha na laṃcaġa karetu, mahi maharayasa anatiyade aṃñatha karetu, yahi eda kilamudra atra eřati prařha yo atra ařhove jaṃna siyaṃti teša Kuunġeyařa pariġe (uřa) uři picavidavo, uřavale kartavo ede Kuunġe Oġanařa ca piṃġa klaseṃna dhamā kartavo* 'These (people) Kuunġe and Oġana are *klaseṃci*s for four armies (divisions of the army), but you are making them keepers of the royal camels. They are performing another state duty which on the top of their army-(work) (*seniyade aři: aři = aři* which occurs below *tade aři*). It = *adhi*, cf. *ařimatra*) makes five (jobs). In this you are certainly not acting rightly, you are acting differently from the command of me, the great king. When this wedge and seal shall come there, such people as are available there, the camels must be handed over from Kuunġe to them, and they must be made keepers of camels, (while) these people Kuunġe and Oġana perform their fundamental *klaseṃna*-duty.' It is clear from this passage that the duties of the *klaseṃci* were sufficiently near those of the *uřavala* for them to be confused by the authorities. In 10 a man complains that he is *klaseṃci* at Peta *avāna* and is being made an *arivaġa* ('guide', see s.v.).

K

Kema : § 83.

KH

khakhorna : An attempt is made in *B.S.O.S.* VII, 780 to show that this word should be read *khakhorda* and is = Av. *kax^varda* 'wizard', Arm.L.W. *kaxard* 'magician', Skt. *kākhorda*, *kharkoṣa*, etc., meaning the same. *khakhorna stri* would then mean 'a witch', a meaning which fits the passages well.

khaja : § 41.

khamje : § 60.

khatva : § 107.

khadarnarhi : § 55.

khamnavatagesi : Cf. s.v. *vataga*.

khara = (1) 'ass' 598, 628; (2) a surname or title, e.g. *kha^o Kunḡeyasa* 456. Connected with *ekhara* (?).

kharaḡi : 292. Perhaps means 'asses'.

kharaḡarna : 318. Some object.

khi : Measure of capacity: 20 *khi* = 1 *mīlima*. Since *mīlima* has been shown to be = Gk. *μῆδιμος*, *khi* is probably = *χούς*. As regards the change from *ū* to *ī* Konow says (*Saka Studies*, p. 20) that in Saka a dental or guttural fricative effects the change *ū* > *ī* (*tīma* 'seed' = **tauxma* through **tūxma*, although here the *x* comes last).

khula = *kula* 'herd (of camels, etc.)'. On *kh-* for *k-* in Prakrit, cf. Pischel, § 206. But the change does not occur elsewhere in this word. Both Pali and Prakrit have *kula*.

khuvanemci : Cf. *kuhani*.

kheni = *khani* 'a pit'.

khema : Has hitherto been taken as = Skt. *kṣema*. But *kṣ* becomes *ch* not *kh* in this dialect. *khoritaga* 'shaven' is an exception. But this word in the compounds *svastichema* and *yogachema* exhibits the regular form.

Further, it suits the sense of the passages better to take it as a place-name. In 214 *yava khemaṃmi* means obviously 'as far as Khema', because we are dealing with the stages of the journey of an ambassador to Khotan, and the provisions to be made for them. Khema appears from this document to have been a town between Caḍota and Khotan. In 506 and 709 we hear of slaves fleeing to Khema. Apart from this *khema* only occurs in the stock phrase *yahi Khema Khotamnade vartamana haḥhati imthu ami mahi maharayasa padamulaṃmi viṇṇadi lekha prahadavya* 272, etc. 'When there is news (*vartamana* = *pravṛti*) from Khema and Khotan you must send a letter of information to the feet of me the great king'. For the construction *Khema Khotamnade* compare *Caḍota Calmadanade*, etc. and § 135.

- Khotamna** : = Khotan. *Kh* no doubt stands for *x* to judge from Saka *Hvatāna*, N.Pers. *xutani*, etc.
khoritaḡa : § 48. (= *kṣor*-.)
khosa : Name of a man. Probably a Khotanese. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 516.
khvāni : Cf. *kuhani*.
Khvarnarse : n.pr. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 515 and 789.

G

- gachamana** : § 101.
gachiṣyāti : § 99.
gamñāvāra : 'treasurer', § 45, and *B.S.O.S.* VII, 509.
gamḡa piṭaka : 511. = 'boils and eruptions'.
gatosmi : § 106.
gademi : § 105.
gamdavo : § 46.
ganasaḡa : A surname applied to Śakha, who was a Khotani (335). *kanasaka*, which is obviously the same, appears alone in 30 *Khotani Kanasaka*.
gamam : = *gamana*, § 13.
gamiyana : Cf. Pali *gamika* = *gamiya* 'courier'.
gameṣati : § 50.
gameṣiṣa : § 99.
garahati : § 10.
garbheni : § 3.
galṗiti : 162. Lüders (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 641) suggests plausibly that it is a mistake for *saṃgalṗiti* 'having collected', with *lṗ* (i.e. *ly*) for *l* according to § 31.
giḡa : §§ 28, 107.
giḡya : § 41.
giṃṡa : or *gita*; 225 *aṃṡa giḡa giṃṡa khi* 1, something measured in *khis*.
Girakaṣa : § 15.
gilanaḡa : § 10.
guṭa : = *gūḡha*, § 18.
gumoca : 534. Some object.
guṣura : Title. It is among the highest titles like *kāla* and *ogu*. With the latter it seems to have rather close connections, because a number of people appear with both titles (see s.v. *ogu*). Their functions were judicial (216, 295, etc.). There were *guṣuras* in Khotan as well as in Shan-Shan (413).
 Prof. Thomas (*Festschrift . . . H. Jacobi*, p. 51 and *Acta Or.* XIV, p. 66) proposes to equate *guṣura* with the title *kujula*, *kuyula*, *kozoulo*, which occurs on the coins of the Kuṣan kings.
 Leaving aside this problem for a moment I propose to equate *guṣura* with N.Pers. *vazīr*, Av. *vičīra*. The N.Pers. is reborrowed from Ar. (Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, s.v.), the correct N.Pers. form would be **guzīr*. The change from *vi-* to *gu-* which is

characteristic of N.Pers. was also at work among the Iranians who appeared in North India in the first century A.D.

Gudaphara = *Vindafarnā*. Further, *c* is regularly changed to *ś* in this dialect (§ 17), so that the form we would expect corresponding to *vazīr* if borrowed into a North-West Prakrit would be *guśira*, and the assimilation of the vowels produced the form we have, *guśura*.

If this is true *kujula* of the Kušana inscriptions, if connected with this word, will have to be a corruption of *guśura* in the mouths of non-Iranians of some kind.

In support of this hypothesis it may be further pointed out that *guśura* cannot belong to the native language of Kroraina on account of the initial *g* (§ 14), and if *kujula* were the original form it is incredible that a people possessing no voiced stops would substitute *guśura* for it. *gauśura* appears as an official title in a Sanskrit document from Kuci (Lüders, 'Zur Geschichte u. Geographie Ostturkestans', *S.P.A.W.* 1922).

goduma: § 24.

goni: S. *goṇī* 'sack', 214 *goniyammi*.

goma: = *godhūma* 'wheat'; *gohomi* 83 represents an intermediate stage. In 72 (*ja*²) *huma* (²*ga*-) read *gohuma* probably. Cf. § 27 and § 28.

gośato: 157. Read certainly *go vito* (cf. s.v. *vito*).

gramiye: § 60.

grahito: § 53.

grihasta: § 5.

GH

ghrida: § 5.

N

ngaca: Read *Tgaca* as in the notes. A variant is *Tagaca*, cf. § 13 and § 47.

C

caura: 'four', § 19.

caṃkura: An official title. Peta *avāna* is put in charge of a *caṃkura*, 16. They appear from time to time as judges along with *ogus*, *cojhbos*, *tasucas*, *cubalayinas* (318, 506, 583, etc.). *Caṃkura* Kapgeya has *kilmecis* (see s.v.) under him. Other administrative duties are entrusted to them (64, camels, 532). Prof. Thomas compares *cañ-khyir*, *cañkhyur* of the Tibetan documents (*J.R.A.S.* (1927), pp. 75 n., 79; (1933), p. 550; (1934), pp. 97, 252). He has further shown that its meaning in Tibetan is 'protector' (*Acta Or.* XIII, 73), and proposes to equate it with the Skt. *nagara-raṃśaka*, i.e. guardian of the city or chief of police. The Tibetan word is presumably borrowed from some Central Asian language.

cakhorade: 320 *ogu je ya sa ni ro cakhorade*. Read *ogu feyaša ni rocakhorade*, but the expression is quite obscure.

cağali: § 75.

caṃñātrena: = *jaṃñātrena*, § 14.

Caḍoča: It is noteworthy that there are surprisingly few native names containing cerebrals, so that the language was probably devoid of them. *Caḍota* is definitely exceptional. *J.R.A.S.* (1935), p. 669.

Caḍotiye: § 60.

Caḍodemci: § 77.

Cataroyaesa: § 69.

catu: § 89.

catuvarşağa: § 139.

caṃdrikamaṃta: 372. *cāṃdrik*^o 714. According to Prof. Thomas 'moonlight-workings' = 'jade' (*Acta Or.* XII, 46), only in that case we ought to have had *-kaṃamaṃta*, § 36. In 714 the word should perhaps be read *cāṃdrikamaṃtana*, because the *na* which is printed separately seems inappropriate. It is not clear whether we are dealing with a compound expression or with two separate words (*caṃdri* and *kamaṃta*) which happen to be mentioned together. *caṃdri* might be connected with Skt. *cāṃdrakam* 'ginger'. *kamaṃta* has been compared with N.P. *kamand* 'noose' which is uncertain as long as its meaning is unsettled, and also with *kamuṃta* (see s.v.). A further connection with Saka *kāṃmadī* is suggested by H. W. Bailey, *Z.D.M.G.* 1936, p. 576.

capariša: = '46', §§ 43, 47.

camari: 585: *camari vavala* 1. Probably a mistake for *camari vala*, i.e. the tail of the *camara* or chowrie.

carapuruşa: 'Spy' or 'intelligence agent' as in Sanskrit.

caru: Surname or title applied to Kutğeya (103), Mutreya (277), Lustu (327), Jimoya (385), Prātğa (576).

Calmadana Caḍodade: § 135.

cavala: = 'quickly', § 90.

caşağa: = Skt. *caşaka*- 'cup', used of a small measure of capacity, less than a *khi*.

ciṭuğhi: Cf. *jiṭuğhi* and § 14.

cita: = *citta*; *cita kartavya* 'attention is to be paid'.

ciṃd: = *cint-*, § 46. It is used in the sense of 'reckoning' or 'assessing' the amount of tax, e.g. 468 *yahi pırvıka adehi Yave avanaṃmi kilmeciyanana paride saṃvatsari pałpi aṃna nadha piṃḍa milima* 10. 4. 1. *ciṃditağa* 'Formerly from there at Yave avana the yearly tax from the *kilmecis* (see s.v.) was assessed altogether at 15 *milima* of corn'.

citişati: 667. Perhaps = *cintişyati*. On the omission of anusvāra see § 47.

citranae: 703. Read *ciṃvanae* = *jivanae* 'to live', which makes good sense. The akşaras *tra* and *ı* are quite easily confused.

Cina: Skt. *Cina* = 'Chinese'.

- Cinaphāra**: *B.S.O.S.* VII, 515. Probably *cina* = Chinese and Iranian *phāra* = *farnā*, just as *Cināsena* is formed with the Indian *-sena*.
- cina veḍa**: 353. Pali *veṭha*, *veṭhana* according to Prof. Rapson and *cina* = 'Chinese'.
- cinika**: § 32.
- ciṃnita-da**: §§ 24, 45.
- cimara**: = *civara* (Prof. Rapson), cf. § 50.
- ciraīṃta**: 587. Epithet of *bhuma* 'land'. *cirāyita* (?) (i.e. land that has grown poor by being used for a long time). Quite doubtful.
- cilaṃḍhina**: 'common, shared': 21 *yatha eḍaṣa Lpīpamena sadha ūta cilaṃḍhina hoati* 'That of him there is a camel owned in common with L.'; 256 (they have divided property...) *sudha Patraya cilaṃḍhina hoda* 'Only Patraya was (remained) common property'. On the suffix *-ina*, cf. § 77.
- Civamitra**: § 14.
- ciśa**: § 11.
- cuḍaso**: 206. Obscure.
- cudiyadi**: §§ 1, 2.
- cumpita**: 585: *śastrena cumpita taravacena cumpita*. Apparently means something like 'cut, chopped'. Dhātu P. *cumb-* 'to hurt' (?).
- curoṃā**: (*croṃā*, *ciroṃā*). Some kind of agricultural commodity, sent as tax (*palpi*). From 264 *curoṃā paṣu* 2 'curoṃā sheep 2' it would seem to be something that is got from sheep or goats (cheese?).
- culāge**: § 53.
- culo**: 304. Apparently a surname.
- cuḅalayina**: An official title. *cuḅalayinas* act as judges (582, 709, 732). In 135 *cuḅalayina* Pḥurmāṣeva goes on an embassy to Khotan. His name has a definitely foreign appearance (possibly Iranian, see s.v.). Judging by the position they occupy in lists of titled people, the *cuḅalayinas* were inferior in rank to *ogus*, *guśuras* and *caṃkuras*, possibly superior to *cojhbos* (cf. 582, 584, 709, 732).
- Only a few *cuḅalayinas* are mentioned, namely: Malbhuta, Onuḡi, Pḥurmāṣeva, Pumñavaṃpta and Tiraphāra. In certain cases *cu*^o seems to be a proper name, cf. 278, 573, 702.
- Coka**: Surname of Pḡita, 103.
- coḱto**: Surname of Somcḡeya and Arkamtḡa (558).
- coḱho**: (*cokaṃ*). Surname of Suḡita (72).
- coḱha**: (*coḱhaḡa*). = Skt. *coḱṣa*, Ardḥ.M. *coḱkha* 'clean'.
- cojho**: The commonest of all the local titles. About forty people are referred to with the title *cojho*. Judging from the position he regularly occupied in lists the *cojho* was inferior in rank to *ogu*, *guśura*, *kāla* and *caṃkura* (478, 709, 732, etc.). On the other hand *cojho* Somjaka was certainly governor of the province of which Caḱota was the capital (272 *ekisya eṭaṣa raja picavidemi*), so that he at least must have been superior in power to all the *ogus*, etc. residing there. But again the large number of *cojhbos* mentioned,

much larger than that of *ogu* or *gušura* or *caṃkura*, shows that they cannot as a rule have held such high positions as Somjaka.

Their functions were both judicial and administrative (tax-collecting, etc.). Also national defence in the case of Somjaka (cf. especially 272). How closely they were connected with the army it is impossible to say, because most of the documents are dealing with civil life. In 713 *cojhbo* Tagira reports a victory over an unspecified enemy, where it looks as if he had been commanding. In 478 apparently *gušura*, *spetha*, *cuvalayina* and *cojhbo* are all said to be military men: *Iša c̄humammi khvaniyade seniye ayitaṃṭi gušura Kušanāsena, caruweta spetha Vidhura, cvalayina Pumiṇṭa-vaṃṭa, cojhbo Naṃṭipala Palaḡeyasa ca.*

The bulk of the wedge tablets (*kilamudra*) and leather documents (*anadi-lekha*) from the court are addressed to *cojhbos*, so that while their rank was not so high as *ogu*, etc., they certainly played the most active part in the administration of the kingdom.

Since the native language of Kroraina had no voiced stops the group *jhb* (= *zb*) indicates that the title must have come from outside.

cojhbo is no doubt identical with the *cazba* mentioned in the Maralbashi documents edited by Konow ('Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt', *S.B.P.A.W.* (1935), pp. 772 ff.). Dr W. Henning points out in a communication that it is derived from Av. *čazdahvant-* (Nom. Sing. *čazdahvā*) which is translated by Pehl. *vičārtār*.

coṭaḡa: 'clothing', § 18. = *coṭaḡa*.

coṭina: 489. Obscure.

cotaṃ: = *cotaṃna*, § 13.

codeyati: § 100.

cori: § 60.

coritaḡa prace: § 112.

corko: 641. Surname of Suḡita.

CH

chataḡa: 505. = *chadaka-* or *chādaka-* 'clothing'. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 783 and Lüders, *Textilien im Alten Turkistan*, p. 34.

chaṃni: 231: *chaṃni syati*. Not a future of course, because it would be *sy* not *sy*.

chaṃpita: § 14.

chirṇati: § 45.

chotaḡa: 161. = (?).

choreti: *chorayati*, which occurs in Buddhist Sanskrit, = 'throw away, abandon': 134 *ma iṃci edeša aḡhia dhaṃena raja dhaṃa choretu* 'Do not abandon the law of the kingdom for a law (emanating) from the mouths of these people'. It may perhaps sometimes mean 'to send' (265); *jhorita* seems to be a variant, cf. § 15.

choretu: § 93.

ĀH

āhītra : § 1.

āhīraṣa : 415, 434. Both times in the technical sense of *kuṭṭhācchīra* (see s.v.).

āhūna : = 'time, date', occurring in the formula *īsa āhūnaṃmi*, which comes after the year, month and day of the king's reign.

= Saka *kṣuna* with the same meaning. It is also borrowed into Kuchean as *kṣum*. In the Maralbashi Saka it appears as *χṣana*.
āhema : § 48. Cf. s.v. *khema*.

J

jamñatriyena : Cf. § 76.

jamḍunaṃca : 565 'worms'. Cf. Lüders, 'Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises' (*S.P.A.W.* (1933), pp. 15-19). He prints a text from Šorcuq in debased Sanskrit, where *jantuna* is used parallel to *ahi* in the animal cycle. For the plural, cf. § 62. This renders it unnecessary to assume that *sarpa* or *bhujaga* has been omitted.

janamta : § 101.

janati : § 96.

jamñiyae : 506. *tanwāga gothadare paṃca jamñiyae sadha sata* (= *sapta*) 'Collection of five people' (?).

janemi : § 97.

jamnma : § 44.

jamatā : § 72.

jayaṃta- : §§ 6, 101.

jalpita : § 40.

jalma : = *jālma*, § 40.

jāna : = *dhyāna*, § 41.

Jiṭugha : A title of the kings of Shan-Shan, which appears first in the seventeenth year of the reign of Aṃgoka. Its meaning and origin are unknown but it must certainly be foreign, because the native language possessed no *j* (§ 14), with the result that the title often appears as *ciṭugha*, and almost certainly no *ṭ* either.

jinida : § 15.

Jimoya : § 15. = *Cimoya*.

jivamtaḡa : § 101.

jivamtiyae : § 69.

jivamto : § 53.

Jivadeyu : = *Jivadeva*, cf. *Upateyu* and § 13.

Jivaśamma : § 36.

jivo : § 53.

juṭhi : (*cuthiye, jhuthi*). An obscure term connected with sowing and agriculture. It is not an adjective because it is placed after *bhija* 'seed' in 703: *bhija juṭhi*. The form *cuthiye* 422 looks like a plural (cf. § 60). It cannot belong to the native language (§ 14, and cf. under *Jiṭugha*).

Jeṭugha : = *ḡiṭugha*, § 3.

jeṭha : = *jyeṣṭha*, §§ 41, 49.

Jepriya : = *Jayapriya*, cf. § 6.

Jeyanaṃta : = *Jayānanda*.

jeyanta : § 6.

Jiryāśyaṣa (?): Read as in the note *Jeyāśa* or *Jayaśa*. It is obviously the same *ogu* *Jayaśa* who is mentioned elsewhere.

JH

= *jh* or *z*. Cf. *Khar. Inscr.* III, 303. They are distinguished in the originals but not in the transliteration.

Jhaḡimoya : *B.S.O.S.* VII, 789.

jheniḡa : = 'under the care of'; Saka *ysīniya*, Sogd. *zynyh*. Konow, *Acta Or.* x, 80. The *i* must have been long to judge from the Saka, i.e. **zeniḡa*. Compare also N.Pers. *zin-hār* 'protection' and *zindān* 'prison'.

jheniya : § 16.

jhorita : = *chorita*, § 26.

Ñ

ñatiyo : § 53. Perhaps to be read *ñati yo*, e.g. 437. . . *putro va praṣutro va ñati yo amñia kilmeci* 'Son or grandson (or) relation (or) any other *kilmeci*'.

ñadārtha : § 139.

ñadārthemī : § 108.

Ṭ

ṭera : = *sthavira*.

DH

= (1) *ḡha*, (2) an akṣara of quite uncertain value. Cf. *Khar. Inscr.* p. 305 and plate XIV.

ḡhipu : 722. Some part of a bow (*dhanu*) or something connected with it.

ḡhyačhiyaṣa : 685. = *dryačhiyaṣa*, which occurs in the following document, i.e. *tryakṣi* 'three-eyed'. Some god (?), Śiva (?). Also which of the two forms of *ḡha* (see above) is it?

T

ta- : Demonstr. pron. § 80 (declension and syntax).

taḡaḡo : Surname of *Suḡita* 137.

taḡastehi : Uncertain, since it only occurs twice, 12, 43. In *taḡastehi varidavo* 12 it might be either instrumental or ablative plural, 'They are to be kept away from *taḡastas* or by *taḡastas*'. Or is it possibly an adverb?

taṃcaṃ : 117 *sarva piṃḡaim taṃ caṃ gavi*. Read perhaps *sarva piṃḡaimtaṃcaṃ gavi*, i.e. *ṭitaṃca* (§ 82) (*piṃḡayita* = 'collected together'). Or perhaps *sarva piṃḡa imtaṃca gavi* (cf. § 82 for *itaṃca*).

taçhamna : § 72.

taṃḍa : § 14.

taḍitaḡena : (and *taḍitaḡade*), § 112.

tati : 570 *uṭi tati varṣi* 'A female camel so many years old'. Cf. § 87.

tatiyemi : 58. Adverb derived from *tati* (above). Cf. § 91.

tatreṃi : § 91.

tade : § 12.

tanana : § 24.

tanu, tanuṃḡaḡa : § 86.

tanutri : Read no doubt *tanuṃḡi* as suggested in the notes, i.e. fem. of *tanuṃḡaḡa* (§ 74). *tr* and *ṃ* are easily confused, cf. *jaṃṃiatrena* and *jaṃṃiavēna*; also *citranāe* (above) = *ciṃṃanāe*.

tapadaya : = 'thereupon, straightaway'. Etymology obscure.

Tamaspa : Iranian name = **Taxmāspa*, *B.S.O.S.* VII, 515. On the *sp*, cf. § 49.

taṃena : Title or surname of Suḡita (118, 384) and Kuleya (174).

taravacena : Some instrument for cutting or chopping, 585. (It is used parallel with *ṣastrena*.)

tarvardha (?) : 479. Obscure.

tavanaḡa : See *thavaṃḡaḡa*.

tāvastaḡa : = 'carpet' (Prof. Thomas comparing Gk. *τάπητος*, a loanword from Persian, and N.Pers. *tāftan*, *tābam*). From the same base is *thavaṃḡaḡa* (see s.v.). Arm.L.W. *tapast* and *tapastak* 'mat', N.Pers. *tabastah* = 'fringed carpet'.

taṣavita : = *daṣavita*, § 14.

tasuca : An official title. Nothing very definite is to be learned about their functions. Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or.* XIII, 78) suggests that it means interpreter, but does not quote any evidence from the documents. To judge by their position in official lists the *tasuca* were not amongst the highest titles (*ogu*, *guṣura*, *kāla*) but on a lower level with *cojhbo*, *vasu*, *ṣoṭhamḡa*, e.g. 709, 588, 422.

In 580 *saḡhi divira Apḡeya*, *saḡhi sotira Catata*, *saḡhi kāla Karaṃtaṣa putra Kaṃjiya*, *Catata* has a double title *sotira tasuca*. Is *sotira* the Greek *σωτήρ* used as an honorific title and is *tasuca* an equivalent of that?

taḡemi : § 80.

tasmārtha : § 80.

taha : § 27.

tahi : § 79.

tike : 147 *tike giḡaṃti*. Read *paḡe* (?).

tiḡhi : Cf. *diḡhi*.

tita (etc.) : § 14.

tina : § 1.

timpura : § 50.

timitavya : Only in the phrase *prahuḡarthaya na timitavya*. The

meaning is clear from comparing a variant of the same phrase: 320 *prahuḍarthaya na manyu kartavya*, i.e. 'You must not be angry or worried, upset about a present'. (It was customary always to send a present with a letter, and this phrase is used when an excuse is given for not doing so.) *dimidavo* also occurs, and it is difficult (cf. §§ 14, 15) to be sure which is the correct form. *timi*° occurs oftenest, which is in its favour. Possibly connected with *tāmyati*, although the phonetics are difficult. We may have a special treatment of original **tīm̐myeti*. Has N.Pers. *īmār* 'sorrow' anything to do with it?

Tiraphāra: Iranian name. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 515. The deity *Tīra* appears on the Kuṣān coins (Stein, *Ind. Ant.* (1888), p. 95) as TEIPO.

tirṣa: (and *tirsa*, *torṣa* 39 is apparently a mistake). Epithet of horse or mare. It is only used in the existing documents about those horses or mares which are given as a payment when children are adopted (see s.v. *kuṭhāchīra*). The meaning is obscure but it is interesting to note that the form *tirṣa* is always masculine (used with *aṣpa*) while *tirsa* is feminine (used with *vaḍavi* 39. 771), thus giving a glimpse of the morphology of the native language.

tivajhe: § 22.

tivaṣehi: § 58.

tiṣu: § 1.

tu (*tuo*): § 53.

tuḡuḡa: Title of Cimola (306, 360), Sudarśana (374). In 187 read probably *tuḡuḡa* for *vuḡaḡa* (as in the notes).

tumbhičha: §§ 37, 47.

tumahu: §§ 27, 79.

te: = *tasmin*, § 80.

teyaṃgadhī: 271 (or *teyaṃgami*). Read perhaps *te yaṃgami nidavya*. **toṃga**: An official. He comes among the list of officials who are qualified as *ajhade* 'noble' or 'free' (436). His functions were closely connected with those of the *cojhbo*. The *cojhbo* Yitaka and the *toṃga* Vukto repeatedly have letters addressed to them in common (11, 23, 28, 37, 42). These functions seem to have been most closely connected with camels and horses, and the conveying of things from one part of the kingdom to another (see, for instance, 387, 622). No. 96 consists of a list of *toṃgas* and a statement of the number of people belonging to each of them. These are perhaps the *vaṭhayaḡa* (= *uṣasthāyaka*), who are referred to in 387, 622, i.e. the staff of subordinates employed by the *toṃgas*. From that document it appears that *toṃgas* were pretty numerous. Perhaps it was a military rank, 'captain'.

Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 53; *J.R.A.S.* (1934), p. 255, suggests a connection with *stom-gyañ* and *ston-dpon* of the Tibetan documents. The latter seems, however, to have been a much more

- important official (*J.R.A.S.* (1934), pp. 96-7). Possibly = an Iranian **tuwānaka*-.
- tomi** = *twayā* according to Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 52. The form can be explained as *to* = *tava* and *mi*, which is frequently appended to pronominal forms (§ 91). On the genitive as agent see § 119. It seems to mean *tasmin* at 123.
- tommihi**: 165 *tommihi śadha śa viśajidavo* 'Is to be sent here along with the *tommi* (?); if *tommi* here is instrumental plural, it is the only one of its kind. We expect *-iyehi* (§ 70). Also a noun *tommi* appears nowhere else. No doubt it is written for *tomi*, for which see s.v.
- toṣu**: § 53.
- trakhma**: §§ 14, 44.
- traghade**: §§ 14, 47.
- Traṣa Aṅanaṃmi**: See s.v. *avāna*.
- triḥa**: § 50. Perhaps = **tirikṣa* dissimilated out of *titikṣā* (cf. *diliḥa*): 565 *nāga naḥatrami triḥa, sarva karya sahidavya* 'In the *nāga-nakṣatra* forbearance: everything is to be endured'.
- triti**: §§ 5, 89.
- trina**: § 89.
- triśa**: §§ 47, 89.
- trubhiḥa**: § 39.
- truṣga**: 581 *truṣga kalammi* 'in a time of drought'. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 511 (= *dur* and *huṣka*). Alternatively we might read *vuṣga*. The akṣaras *tra* and *va* are very much alike, cf. s.v. *citranae*, *tanutri aṅṅāvaena* and *Khar. Inscr.* Plate XIV. The *h*- might easily be omitted leaving *uṣka*, § 28. On *ṣk* becoming *ṣg*, cf. § 49. On initial *vu-* (*vu-*) out of *u-*, § 30.
- truso**: 631. Title or surname of *Kunaṣena*.
- trepe**: Surname of *Jivamitra* (5 times).
- tvaca**: 702. In a list of spices. Skt. *tvac* and *tvaca* = 'cinnamon' and 'cassia-bark'.
- tsaṃg(h)ina**: or *tsaṃghinaṅva* (for the *-va* as a suffix cf. *karsenaṅva*). A particular class of official engaged in providing corn to the state, usually mentioned side by side with the *koyimaṅdhina*. Possibly *tsaṃg(h)ina* is an epithet describing a particular class of grain collected as tax, and *tsaṃg(h)inaṅva* the official connected with it, in which case *koyimaṅdhina* would have to have both senses, e.g. 164 *yo puna adehi rajade tsaṃghina kvemamaṅdhina palpi dhamā śa mama pruchaṃti*, either 'What arrangement about tax from that kingdom (province) the *ts.s* and *k.s* ask me' or 'What arrangement about *tsaṃghina* and *koyimaṅdhina* tax they ask'. The first seems most probable.

TH

thamavarṃte: § 60.

tharītavo: § 14.

thavaṃnaṅga: (*thavaṃnae*, *thavaṃna-mae*, also *tavanaṅga*). = Saka

- thauna* 'cloth' (B.S.O.S. VII, 512). Cf. also for the form N.Pers. *tafnah* 'web'.
- thavitaḡa**: 416: *tha*^o 1. Participial form from the same base as *thavamaḡa* (?).
- thaviti**: § 112.
- thiyanti**: § 96.
- thiyanae**: § 103.
- thubada**: 378: *thu ba da u na*. Obscure.

D

- dajavita**: Cf. *daśavita*. Only we would have expected *dajavita*.
- Dajapala**: n.pr. = *Dhvajapāla*; cf. *daśa* in Saka (loan-word) = *dhvaḡa*.
- dajha**: § 22. *dajhaṃca*, § 62.
- daṃḡa praptaṃ ca**: Possibly plural in *-aṃca*, § 62.
- dadavo**: (and *dadavya*), §§ 9, 116.
- daditva**: § 102.
- danagrahana**: (*dvandva*), § 135; *danagrana*, § 28.
- darśaveti**: § 20. = 'show'. Used when somebody tries to prove that some property belongs to him: 734 *yo atra oḡu Bhimasenaṡa tanu kilmeciyaṡa bhumaḡhetra Rutraya Paṃcama ṡa ca tanu darśaveti* 'The land that there belongs to *oḡu Bh.*'s own *kilmecis*. R. and P. are attempting to prove it is their own property'.
- darṡ-**: 'to pack', = Av. *darəz*. B.S.O.S. VII, 510.
- daśammi**: § 89.
- daśavita**: Occurs associated with lists of names beside which are placed amounts of grain, etc. which they have either paid or received. Construed with the name of the official in charge of the transaction, e.g. 627 *daśavita Caneya ima* 10. 2. It is not quite clear whether the people receive or give the things mentioned, since the object of *daśavita* is always the people mentioned in the list. On the first alternative we might regard *daśavita* as a denominative from *daśa* '10', i.e. 'He collected the tithe from'. Or secondly, if the meaning is to 'distribute' (i.e. wages in the form of corn, animals, etc. to people employed in the royal service), it may be causative from $\sqrt{dāś}$, Skt. *dāśayati* 'give, grant, bestow'. For the latter alternative speaks the fact that people with official titles (*apsu*, *vasu*, *tomḡha*, etc.) are frequently mentioned in the lists. On the other hand, lists of names are frequently headed by *śadade* (an administrative unit, see s.v.), where the ablative would seem to imply that something was taken from *śada*. Alternatively the word might be taken as a title parallel to *śadavida* (O. Stein, B.S.O.S. VIII, 770).
- daśutara**: § 89.
- dasya**: § 15 (and *daha*, *dahi*, etc.).
- dasyāti**: § 99.
- dahita**: = *dagdha* (passage explained under *kaṡara*).
- dāśyatu**: = *dāśyasi*, § 93.

- dīthi**: Measure of length. Skt. *dīṣṭi*. There is no need to compare directly Av. *dīštay-* (see *Khar. Inscr. Index Verb.*).
- dīta**: May be either **dīta* or **dītta*. The first would correspond with Indo-Eur. *detó-*, Skt. *-dīta* (in compounds). Torwali *dīt* 'gave', preserving the *t* speaks for original **dītta*; *dīta* would give *dī* in Torwali. Cf. further, *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 431, where it is shown that the form *dhitu* in 661 must represent **dīttam*.
- dītae**: (and *dītaḡa*), §§ 8, 16, 53.
- Dirpara**: Native corruption of the Iranian name *Tiraphara*. On elision of vowels, § 13. The *d-* is curious but of no significance for pronunciation in this language, cf. §§ 14, 15.
- diličha**: § 50.
- divira**: 'scribe, writer'. Iranian loan-word. M.Pers. *dipīr*, N.Pers. *dabīr*. The Iranian forms show a long *ī*, so that we may have **divīra*. On the other hand, the word is borrowed into Sanskrit with a short *i*, *divira*.
- dīṣita**: 295. Read probably *yaṣita* as in note 6 (i.e. *yācita*, which goes well with the ablative *goṭhade*).
- du**: § 89 (*dui*, *due*).
- dutaḡa**: 722. = *dutaka-* 'burnt' (not *dūta*).
- dutiyaē**: § 67.
- dura**: § 90.
- durbhale**: § 53.
- durlāpa**: § 14.
- dṛṭhati**: 3rd plural, *dṛṭhati* = *dṛṭhamti* 'they saw'.
- denati**: § 96.
- denuḡa**: Title, 418. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 5. Possibly from Av. *daēnā* 'religion'.
- deyamnae**: § 103.
- deyāmti**: § 100.
- devaputra**: A title introduced into India by the Kuṣān kings, and by them adopted from the Chinese 'son of heaven'. That it is used by the kings of Kroraina indicates some connection between the two dynasties.
- dramḡa**: Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 510. The question is put there as to whether the meaning is not 'office, department' in general rather than 'Frontier-watch station' as Stein suggested, or even 'toll-house', and this seems to be rendered quite clear by 520 *Suḡīya garahati yatha eṣa ṣoṭhamḡa, avi rajammi divira eṣa puna ṣaṣavaṃni dhāmā Salveyena sadha samna kareti Salve añña dramḡa na dhareti. . . pruchidavo eṣa dui dramḡa dhareti, puna ṣaṣavaṃni dhāmā kareti* 'Suḡīya complains that he is *ṣoṭhamḡa*, also scribe in the royal administration, and that again he is performing the duty of *ṣaṣavaṃna* along with Salve. Salve does not hold any other offices. . . you must ask whether he (Suḡī) holds two offices and on top of that is performing the duty of *ṣaṣavaṃna*'. It is quite clear that the office of *divira*, etc. is here referred to as a *dramḡa*. Similarly *dramḡadhare* (*tr*^o, etc.) means people employed in the

government administration. Cf., for instance, 554 *sarva tramghadhare goṭha bhaṭara jamna śramamna bramamna vurcuḡa sa ca*. List of the different classes of subjects: Officials—householders—*śramamnas* and *brahmanas*—*vurcuḡas* (=?).

It must be the same word as *draṅgā* of the *Rājatarahṅiṇī*, but the development of meaning is not quite clear. The same word appears as *udraṅga* in *Kuṭṭanīmatam* 936. For the etymology, cf. (rather than *drang-*, *B.S.O.S.* VII, 510) *Av. θraxta* 'zusammengedrängt', N.Pers. *taraṅjīdan* 'to be compressed', *turang* 'a prison'. This suits well if the original meaning was 'a fortified place'. The initial *dr-* would be the Saka development of *θr-*. If we take *udraṅga* as the original form we might explain the word out of Skt., i.e. *ud + raṅga* 'an elevated structure'.

driḷu: 661. = *triṅśat* (?). The passage is not clear. Read probably *aṅghi tadriḷu* and cf. Konow, *Acta Or.* XIV (1936), 238.

drippura: § 50.

dvadaśa: § 43.

dvarammi: § 43.

dvi: §§ 43, 89.

DH

dhamnuena: § 72.

dthane: A small weight, 702. It cannot be *dhānya*, because that would give **dhaña*. It is no doubt a loan-word along with *trakhma*. N.Pers. *dāng* 'fourth part of a dram' (Steingass, *Pers. Engl. Dict.*). The earlier forms, quoted by Horn (*Neupersische Etymologie*, s.v. *dāng*), are: *δανακῆ* (O.Pers. Heracleides in *Et. Magn.*), Arabian loan-word *dānaq*, Pehl. *dāng* as in N.Pers. Originally therefore **dānaka-*. For *-e* in the Kharoṣṭhi corresponding to *-aka*, cf. *aḷhade* = **āzātaka*, N.Pers. *āzādah*, and *saste* = **sastaka-* 'day'.

Dhameca: § 15.

dhamā: § 36. Note the idiomatic sense of 'employment in the royal administration', e.g. 567 *eṣa Suḡiḷya ṣoṭhamḡa dhamāde nikkhalidavya* 'This S. is to be removed from the post of *ṣoṭhamḡa*'; 10 *arivaḡa dhamēna*, etc.

dharamaḡa: = *dhāraṇaka* 'owing (a debt)'.

dharmiaḡa: § 36.

dhalavaḡu: 661. Perhaps means 'document': *maya dhalavaḡu Bahudhivā likhidu Khvarnarsasya aṣṣanayi* 'By me Bahudhiva this document was written at the request of Khvarnarse'.

dhitu: Declension of, § 68.

dheṣati: § 99.

N

na imci: § 126.

naḡara: § 16.

naḡa: § 64.

naḡira: *B.S.O.S.* VII, 513. 'hunting' = N.Pers. *naxčir*, Pehl. *naxčir*, T.Phl. *naxčīhr*, Arm.L.W. *naxčir-k'*, Sogd. *n'γšyr* = **naxčir*.

nadi: 368. Fragmentary. Probably (*a*)*nadi*.

nadha: = Skt. *naddha*-. Used as a substantive = 'parcel', e.g. 59 *sā amna teṣa jaṃṃṣa tana tanu nadha iṣa anidavo* 'That corn of those people is to be brought here in separate parcels for each of them'; 291 *tre tre milima nadha kartavo* 'The parcels are to be made each of 3 *milima*'. Much the same as *darṣa*.

namakero: § 53.

namatae: (and *namatāga*), § 53. = N.Pers. *namad* 'felt: a garment of coarse cloth' (Steingass), Pahl. *namat* 'rug' (Tavadia, *Śāyast-nē-Śāyast*, Index, s.v.), Anglo-Indian *numdah* (Stein, *Ruins of Ancient Khotan*, I, 367).

Borrowed probably from Iranian, also Pali *namataka*, and *nantaka* = **namtaka* = some kind of coarse garment.

namaṃniya: (also *namanaḡa*). Only in the phrase *namaṃniya deyaṃnae* 'to exchange' (?). Four methods of disposing of property are mentioned in deeds of sale (cf. 571, 580, 581, 587, etc.): (1) 'sell' (*vikrinanae*), (2) 'give as a present' (*prahuḡa deyaṃnae*), (3) 'mortgage' (*baṃdho(vā) thavaṃnae*), (4) 'exchange' (?) (*namaniya deyaṃnae*). Both forms must be derived from a word *namana*. This may be < an Iranian *nīmāna* (for *na* < *nī*, cf. *namata* < *nīmata*), cf. Arm.L.W. *nman* 'instar', 'similis', N.Pers. *namūnah* 'similar, like', 'pattern', etc. The meaning 'exchange', i.e. give something for something like it, might easily develop from this.

Namarajhma: Iranian name (*nāma* 'fame' as first member of names, Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 220, and *razma*, *ib.* p. 507).

namena: § 72.

Narasaka: 500 n.pr. Iranian, adopted from Narsēs (M.Pers. *nerseh*) with the suffix *-ka* (?).

naṣati: § 41.

nasti: § 95.

ni: § 17. = *nija* 'own': used as a suffix in place of the genitive after proper names, e.g. 593 *Śarsena ni putra Balasena*; 437 *Kaḡḡeya ni kilmecei Komḡala*; 582 *Yipiya ni bhuma praceya* 'Concerning Y.'s land'.

Often a word like *putra* or *dajha* is omitted without it being possible to tell the exact relationship of the people, e.g. 129 *Kuḡḡeya ni Lamḡa*, 210 *ḡeyaka ni Tamḡakaṣa*, etc. In 318 *Samḡila ni Kacanoṣa coridaḡa* 'A theft by Kacano of Samḡila' it appears from the document that Kacano was slave of Samḡila.

Compare the similar use of *hivi* 'own' in Saka, just to strengthen a genitive, without any particular force of its own; cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 790.

nikaliṣyati: § 24.

nikasati: (and *nikhasati*). = *niṣ* + *kas* 'go' (cf. *a-kas*, *ukas*) 'depart, go away'. Sanskrit only causative *niṣkāsayati* 'to expel': 436 *Maṣḡhiḡe taṣa prace ṣavatha ṣata, tade coḡha nikasta* 'M. swore on oath concerning him, then went away cleared'. 'To come out' of witnesses: 326 *avi tatra bahu Caḡotiye vḡdhe nikastanti* 'And there, many old men of Caḡota came forth as witnesses'. 'To be

expended, used up' of corn, etc.: 140 *yo tade amnade nikhstaḡa amñeṣa ditaya* 'So much of that corn as has been expended, given to others'. The prevalence of the form without the aspirate (*nikas-* more frequently than *nikhas-*) is noticeable compared with *nikhal-*, where it is usually preserved; cf. § 24.

nikramta: = *niṣkrāntā*; absence of aspiration as in *nikas*.

nikrona: 146. Epithet of *uta* 'camel'. Perhaps *krona* (see s.v.).

nikhaleti: = S. *niṣkālayati* 'expel, remove, eject, take out, bring out': 69 *na nagarade jaṃna nikhālidavo* 'The people is not to be removed from the city'. With *ṛna* to 'lend' on, 'have out' on loan: 495 *Moḥhapriyaṣa vaṃti svārna ṛna nikhāleti* 'He lends or has on loan gold with Moḥhapriya'. (More likely than 'recovers a debt', because then we would expect the preposition *paride* 'from' rather than *vaṃti* 'with'.) Without *ṛna*: 160 *yaṃ kala Sarpiga iṣa asitaḡa uhati bhuma se nikhāleti, udaḡa bhija Saciṃciye nikhāleṃti katma kriṣivatra kareṃti* 'When S. was living here, he used to let the land, the people of Saca lent, (provided) water and seed and *katmas* (= ?) did the cultivation'.

nikhalyati: § 94.

nigata: An adverb twice used with verbs of going somewhere: 83 *yaṃ kala tuo nigata rayadvarammi ukasidavo aḥati* 'When you are going to travel away to the king's court'; 119 *iṣa sruyati Supiye Calmataneṣu ima caturtha masammi nigata agantavya* 'Here it is heard, the Supiyas are going to come to Calmadana on the fourth month of this year'. 'Down to', adverbial use of *nigatam* 'gone down'.

nigraha: 'punishment'.

niḥiri: 677. Epithet of *harga* 'tax'. Prof. Thomas takes it as an adjective from *naḥira* (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 792).

niḥatra: = *nakṣatra*. *ni*^o also appears in Toch. loan-word *niḥsāmtrā*. The first part was taken as the prefix *ni-*.

nitya: Never **nica*, § 41.

niyati: § 94.

niravaṣiṣo: § 1.

niryoga: 'relaxation', § 42.

nivasaga: 'neighbour'.

nivarakaya: 320. Read probably as in note 4 *nirāvakaṣa*.

nisaḡa: Epithet of *amna* 'corn', which is paid to people in the king's service. The meaning seems to be something like the corn required for their current subsistence.

nisaṃgana: 8. *nisaṃḡa amna* is intended. The *aṃ* perhaps indicates *ā* (*Khar. Inscr.* III, 300).

nihai: § 27. = *nikhan*, also *nihāṇanae*. The *-ñ-* perhaps due to native phonetic tendencies mentioned in § 32.

nuava: Apparently short for *mahanuava* = *mahāṇubhāva* (royal title). Less likely an independent (non-Indian) title.

noḡsari: The month of the new year. Arm. *navasard*. Konow, *Acta Or.* II, 121; cf. also *B.S.O.S.* VII, 512.

noñi: Epithet of *uṭa* 'camel'.

novati: § 89.

P

paḱe: = 'package, parcel' (of rations, allowance paid to state employees), = Tibetan *pha-tsa* in documents from the same region. See Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XIII, 54 ff. Compare perhaps Kuchean *pāke* 'portion'.

paḱeyu: § 62.

paṃcara: (and *paṃcarayina aṃna*). Perhaps = 'fodder' and 'grain for feeding': 146 *añña mṛga uṭasa paṃcaraina aṃna huda milima 4 khi 10* 'Also for a *mṛga*-camel the corn for fodder (?) was *m. 4, kh. 10*'. But the sense cannot be established with certainty. It might be something more definite, such as the food to be consumed on a journey, etc.

paceya: 79. = (?).

paḱa: §§ 49, 91, 92.

paḱadara: Comparative of *paḱa* 'later'.

paḱevara: = 'food, provisions', as is clear especially from 505 *Tsuḡenaṃma satu milima 2 khi 10 4 1 maḱa khi 4 1, kavasi 1; paḱevara piṃḍa milima 3 chataḡa 1, tena Tsuḡenaṃma ḡiḡa* 'Tsuḡenaṃma-meal, 2 *milima*, 15 *khi*, maḱa *khi* 5; one tunic: the sum of provisions 3 *milima*, clothing—1 (article), that Tsuḡenaṃma received'. Here clearly *paḱevara* is the general term 'food' in opposition to the particular kinds of food enumerated, just as *chataḡa* (= *chādaka*) 'clothing' is in opposition to the particular garment mentioned. Cf. also 19 *coḡaḡa paḱevara parikraya dadavo* 'Clothing, food, wages must be given'.

Etymology uncertain, but a connection may be suggested with the Sogd. *pš'βr* 'food, provisions'. Original *paḱya* = 'food for a journey', cf. Skt. *pātheya*-.

pachamḡayina: 65. Read *paṃcarayina* probably.

pajeka: 349. Read probably *paḱeka*, which is the regular form in this dialect corresponding to *pratyeka*.

paṭa: = *paṭṭa* 'roll of silk'. The word is discussed at length by Lüders, *Textilien*, p. 24 ff.

paṭamca: § 62.

paṭanaḡa: 223, 383. Read probably *paḱuvaḡa* (see s.v.).

paṭami: 437. Probably locative of *paṭa* in the sense of 'tablet'.

paṭayaṣa: Read *Patrayaṣa*, which is the same name. Since the akṣaras *ṭa* and *tra* are very much alike, cases like this are obviously a question of confusion of writing, not of a phonetic *ṭ* = *tra* (cf. § 36). Similarly *paḱaya*.

paṭi: 437 *eṣa paṭi*. = Skt. *paṭṭikā* in the sense of 'tablet' (*ikā* = *i*, §§ 74, 75).

paḱiḡa: 140. = *paḱeḡa* (*pratyeka*).

paḱicimṭati: § 109.

paḱuvaḡa: Skt. *pratibhū-* and the suffix *-aka* 'security, surety', §§ 28, 41: 446 *Katiyaṣa paḱe, Cama Sumati paḱuvaḡa* 'Kati's

- parcel. Cama Sumati is security'; 703 *śarira huḍiyama osuga avajīdavo civānae, ko jvitasya paḍwaga amaramnae* 'Care is to be taken in the maintenance of your body to live, (and) as far as there is a security for life, not to die'. Read *paḍwaga* in 546 for *paṭruwaga* and in 223, 762 for *paṭanaḡa*. In 223 *hasta paḍwaga* the *hasta* is reminiscent of Iranian idiom. Cf. forms like N.Pers. *dast yār*.
- paḍega**: § 41.
- patama**: Adverb. = 'back', § 91. Cf. Torwali *pat* out of **patta*:- 64 *imade aṃtaḡi uṭa* 4 *Samarsade patama nikhhalidavo, Samarsade uṭa* 4 *dadavo, Sunade patama nikhhalidavo, Sunade uṭa* 4 *dadavo, Piṣaliyade patama nikhhalidavo* '4 *aṃtaḡi* camels from here are to be turned back from Samarsa, from Samarsa 4 camels are to be given; they are to be turned back from Snuna and 4 (fresh) camels are to be provided from Snuna; these are to be sent back from Piṣali'; 1 *eka gavi patama oḍitaṃti, eka khayitaṃti* 'They let one cow go back, one they ate'.
- patena**: § 91.
- pateyo**: § 66.
- paṃthaci**: § 77.
- patṣa poṇa**: 303. = (?).
- padebhyam**: § 66.
- payati**: Cf. *bhija payati*.
- payita**: 703 *bhuma payita*. Causative from *pī* 'drink'. 'The ground has been watered.'
- parampulaṃmi**: 586. No doubt the same as is written *parabulade* (415). Obscure, but not a place-name because it is used immediately after *Caḍota* in 586 *isa Caḍota parampulaṃmi*. Prof. Thomas thinks it is the Gk. *παρεμβόλη* 'camp'.
- paraṣa**: In the phrases (1) *paraṣa bhav*:- 165 *yati*. . . *paṃthaṃmi paraṣa bhaviṣyati, tuo ṣoṭhaṃḡa Lpīpeya tanu goṭhade vyoṣiṣaṣi* 'If it disappears (is plundered) on the route, you, *ṣoṭhaṃḡa* Lpīpeya, shall pay from your own farm'; (2) *paraṣa kar*:- 324 *se kuḍaḡa Lpimimnaṣa goṭhade Khotaniye paraṣa kritaṃti* 'The Khotanese carried off (kidnapped) that boy from Lpimimna's farm'.
- From *paraṣa* there further occurs a denominative verb *paraṣita, paraṣitaṃti* 'plundered': 324 *Supiya Calmadanaṃmi aḡataṃti, raja paraṣitaṃti, maṃnuṣa ruṣa paraṣa kiḍaṃti* 'The Supis came to Calmadana, plundered the kingdom and carried off the inhabitants'. Perhaps Iranian *parā + āza*.
- pariḥinaviṃtaṃti**: § 104.
- paride**: § 92.
- pariniyaṃti**: § 94.
- paribujiṣatu**: 2nd Sing. (§ 93) Fut. of *pari-budhya-te* 'understand'.
- paribhuchanae**: §§ 2, 26.
- parimargiṣya**: § 99.
- pariyaṭitaṃti**: 130 (text *pariviṭitaṃti*). Read perhaps *parivaṭitaṃti* 'they exchanged'.

- pariyanam̐ti** : 373. = (?).
- parivaṭida** : § 37. Skt. *parivartayati* 'exchange'.
- parivanae** : 214. = The stock of provisions carried by a horse. Skt. *paribhāṇḍaka* §§ 20, 45; or **paribandhaka*- (?).
- pariśamiśati** : 130. = (?).
- pariharṣa** : Obscure. Only in the phrase *pariharṣa ajhati* 216 = *paridharṣa* 'assault' (?).
- parihaṣa** : (and verb *parihaṣati*). Skt. *paribhāṣā* and *paribhāṣate* (= 'revile, abuse'). The meaning is obviously something like 'complains'. It is construed with *vam̐ti* and the genitive: 212 *ede vaḍavi p̐raceya edaṣa vam̐ti parihaṣam̐ti* 'Concerning these mares he makes complaint against him' (or perhaps more specifically as in Skt. 'abuses').
- paru** : Perhaps *paraḥ* (rather than *param*) with -u for -aḥ as in *itu, yatu*, § 12.
- paruvarṣa** : = *parudvarṣa*- 'last year'.
- paropiṇṭsamānā** : §§ 28, 48.
- paros̐para** : §§ 49, 88.
- Parvata** : 'The Mountain'. Name of a mountainous district near Caḍota, presumably the hills to the south. Whence *Parvatiye* 'the people of the mountains'.
- paḷāga varna** : 660. Some object. It appears in a list of kinds of cloth or cloth articles.
- palayanaḡa** : 'fugitive'.
- palayam̐ne** : § 53.
- palayiti** : § 102.
- paliyarnaḡa** : 318. = (?).
- palpi** : 'tax'. = Skt. *bali*, modified by the phonetic system of the native language of Shan-Shan. Cf. § 31, and *J.R.A.S.* (1935), p. 675. Lüders (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 647) has come to the same conclusion.
- pavanaḡa** : 234. = *pravam̐naḡa* (?).
- paśam̐nae** : 721 (and *paśidavo* 159). Probably from *paśyati*, although in Sanskrit it is not used outside the present tense.
- paśu** : Declension of, § 71.
- paśḍha** : 345. = (?).
- pasam̐nam̐no** or *pasam̐nam̐ta*. Something made of cloth (*thavam̐namae*), 534.
- pasam̐nakara** : 627. *p° Suḡita* 'A maker of *pasam̐nas* (=?)'. Alternatively the reading may be *patsam̐na* or *pachana*.
- pāganātsa** : 320 *eta p̐una pāganātsa lihitavya*. = (?).
- pādayo** : § 66.
- pāдеми** : 320. = (?).
- piṅḡa** : 416 *p° 4* = Skt. *piṅga* (?) (something yellow-coloured); *piṅgha* 264.
- picara** : = *pratyarha* according to Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XII, 66, and *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 792. 288 *lekha p̐rahuḍa p̐reśisama yo tehi*

picara syati 'We will send a letter and present which will be worthy of you'; 107, etc. *picaradivyaavarṣaśatayupramanaśa* 'Whose span of life is a hundred divine years worthy of him'.

There are considerable phonetic difficulties in the way of this etymology. *prati-* in this dialect is represented by *paḍi-* or *prati-* but never by *pāti-*. Nor is there any reason why the *a* of the first syllable should be changed to *i*. *picavaṇṇae* may be a parallel (see below, s.v.).

picav-: (*picavaṇṇae*, *picavita*). The same difficulties are against identifying it with *pratyarp-* as in the case of *picara-*, *pratyarha*. Further, *rp* would probably be preserved in this dialect (§ 36) and even if assimilated *pp* would not become *v*.

The meaning, too, does not correspond exactly. Skt. *pratyarp-* always means 'give back, restore' not simply 'hand over to', which is *arpayati*.

picavaṇṇae means 'to hand over to, entrust': 16 *maya maharāyena Peta-avana caṃkura Arjunaśa picavida* 'By me the great king, Peta *avana*, has been put in charge of *caṃkura* Arjuna'; 439 *ahuno rayaka gavi picavetu* 'Now you are putting the royal cows into his hands'.

If *picav-* is really = *pratyarp-* its irregularity may be due to its being a loan-word from another dialect. Likewise *picara*. Alternatively it might be referred to an original **pi-cyāvayati* 'to cause to go to, send, hand over'.

piḍita-: = *piḍita-*. Used as an adverb, § 90, 'expressly'.

piḍhiyāva: 532: *Yaṁe avānaṃmi kilmeciya Vusmeka nama maḍu dhamēna yaṁe avānaṃmi nikastaḡa, se Caḡotaṃmi piḍhiyāva huati, sa Caḡodade palayida atra kaṃaveṇṭi, Yaṁe avāneṇṭi piḍhiyāva Yaṁe avānaṃmi kaṃavidavya*. From the general sense of the passage, it seems that *piḍhiyāva* must have something to do with *pitr* 'father'. 'A (man) called Vusmeka who is *kilmeci* in *Yaṁe avāna* has gone out to *Yaṁe avāna* by mother right (because his mother was native there). On his father's side he is of *Caḡota*. He fled from *Caḡota* (and) they have him working there (i.e. in *Yaṁe avāna*). People who belong to *Yaṁe avāna* on their father's side are to be made to work in *Yaṁe avāna*.' Then instructions are given for him to be sent back. It appears that labourers or serfs were more or less tied to the soil and not allowed to migrate from place to place. The actual form, *piḍhiyāva*, is quite obscure.

pita(-u): § 72 (declension).

pitupitamaḡa: = *pitṛpaitāmaha* with the suffix *-ḡa* substituted for *-ha*, and loss of *vṛddhi* as commonly.

Pitoe: § 69.

pidarana: 648. = (?).

piro: (and *pirova*, *pirovala* 'keeper of the *piro*'). Probably = 'bridge', since it is something closely connected with roads which can be seized to prevent people passing: 639 *yaṃ kala imade anati lekha*

atra é sati pañtha varidavya piro şayidavya siyati tam kalammi varidavya, avi piro şayidavya 'When there comes a letter from here (saying that) the road is to be stopped and the bridge to be seized, then it is to be stopped and the bridge is to be seized'; 120 *pirova şarva jamna kamakare aitamti . . . prapañna bahu kha . . . şa utaga* 'All the workmen went to the bridge . . . the water was very disturbed (reading *kha(lu)şa = kaluşa*)'. The passage has not been fully read, but the sense is clear. The work on the bridge had caused the water in some drinking place (*prapañna*) to become impure. Further corroboration can be drawn from 310, where it is feared some men will escape from the country—*prañha ede mañnuşa anada parimargidavya, pirova Cima Kaşikaşa ca picavidavya* 'Forthwith these men are to be carefully sought for, the bridge is to be put in charge of Cima and Kaşika' (if this is a proper name)—and 333, where we hear of fugitives from Khotan getting on to the bridge. In 122 a large cow is destroyed on the Parcona bridge (i.e. by falling over): *Parcona pirovañmi go mahamta 1 nañha*.

As to the etymology it may be connected with N.Pers. *pul*, Pahl. *puhl*, Av. *parətu* and *pəšu*. The original form would be *prəwaka*, giving **pirhwaka*, **piroga*, *pirova* and *piro*. For the final *g* disappearing compare *aganduvā* and § 16. For *va*, *o*, cf. *şoñhamga* and *şoñhamga*, etc., § 7.

pivamñamñae: § 20. = **pi-bandhanāya* 'to bind on'.

pivarae: *pivara-* 'fat'. In 198 read *ko pivarağa* for *kopi varağa*.

Pişalpiyañmi: § 31.

Puğohaşa: § 28.

puñgebha: Read *putğetsa*, § 47. Epithet of *uťa* 'camel'. For the suffix *-ta*, cf. *añklatsa*. Exact meaning uncertain.

pučhama: 534. Some object.

puña-: § 41.

puññarthi: § 55.

putradhīdarehi: § 62.

Puñniyade: § 14. Cf. *Buñni*.

punu: §§ 12, 91.

parañha: § 92. = *purastāt* 'in the presence of'.

parañhida: = *parañha* (*parañsthita-*).

purata: = *puratañ*. Same meaning as *parañha*.

puradu: 661. = *puratañ* in the dialect of Khotan.

purta: 78. The variant reading *purşa* is to be preferred (cf. s.v.).

purşa: Epithet of *uťa* 74, *paşu* 157. The n.pr. *Purşavara* will mean a person who rides on a *purşa* (horse or camel). Perhaps a castrated animal from *purşa* (*purta*) *biñnita* (*bhind-*) 78, though of course *biñnita* may just as well refer to some other operation, such as making a hole in the nose or ear, etc.

pursaka: 383. = *purşa*.

Pulaya: Surname of Sunamta (8), Suğiya (384), Kuuta (613).

puşga: 383. = (?).

Puṣṅariyade: § 49.

puṣpa: § 49.

Pusmavika: n.pr. 472. = *Bujhimoyika*, cf. § 14.

peḍa: 207. Skt. *peṭa*, *peṭaka* 'basket', Pali *peṭa*, Buddh. S. *peḍā* 'id.'

Peta aṣṣanna: See *avāna*.

peta vaṃnidāga: 318. = (?).

petri: 399. = *patrika*.

poḡa: § 14.

potḡa: 225. The same as *potḡoṇe(na)*. Perhaps the latter part of the word has been accidentally omitted.

potḡe: (*poṅge*). Connected with water (347, 397). 397 is fragmentary, but the subject seems to be that soldiers had been going into a *potḡe* for water. In 347 a *potḡe* is said to be without water, and a letter is sent about the affairs of the *potḡe* (*potḡeci karyani praceya*): 120 *ṣitḡa-potḡe* (*ṣitḡa* may be a proper name). With regard to this *potḡe* water is said to have become turbid because workmen went to mend a bridge (cf. s.v. *piro*). No. 701 is a list of people sent to keep guard over a *potḡe* (*potḡe raḥanna jaṃma*). The meaning 'tank, reservoir' seems most suitable.

potḡoṇa: 207. Usually *potḡoṇena*; always used in conjunction with *masu*, e.g. 637 *masu prahuḍa preṣidavya khi 3 potḡoṇena*. Apparently some particular form of wine: distinguished from *ṣamiyena* (cf. s.v.). The suffix, as Lüders (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 641 n.) remarks, would seem to be connected with Saka *-auṇa* and Toch. *-oṇe*. [Read in 207 *potḡoṇena* instead of *potḡaṇa* 1.]

potage: § 60.

pothi: 17 (*caṃa pothi*), 534. Compare N.Pers. *pōst* 'skin' (?).

Pošarsa: § 14. Same as *Bošarsa*.

posara: 382. Some object.

praḡaṭa: § 5. *praḡaṭa nikhalitaṃti* 17 'They fetched out into the open'.

pracukamaṃ: 392 *pracukamaṃ nagara*. = (?).

prace: 'concerning', §§ 6, 92. Borrowed into Saka as *pracai*, Skt. *pratyaya-*.

praṭha: § 91. 'forthwith', from *pra* and *√sthā*.

pratu: § 12.

prathade: 152 *prathade eda lekha atra prahidemi* 'from a journey, from on a journey'. Skt. *pra-sthā-*.

pramuha: § 27.

pravannaḡa: = *prapanna* 'deed, document'. The rectangular double tablets are headed *yīyo pravannaḡa*.

prašura: = *pracura*, § 17.

prašavita: (and *prašavitaḡa*). = 'granted, allowed', and as a noun, 'a grant'. It differs from the ordinary word for 'present', *prahuḍa*, by being used chiefly of royal grants to individuals, especially of fugitives (*palayannaḡa*). The idea is relinquishing one's claim to something and letting somebody else have it: 403 *iṣa jeyakaṣa*

palayanmaḡa praṣavitaḡa asi 'Here a fugitive was given as a special grant to Jeyaka', cf. 161, 355. Also of corn: 637 *aṇṇa Yitayaṣa milima 1 kala praṣavida* 'Another (thing), the kala made Yitaya a grant of 1 mi'; of a farm: 375 *suveṭṭha Cinasena ni goṭṭha maya maharayaṇa eḍaṣa Dmusvaṇṭaṣa praṣavita dita* 'The farm of the *suveṭṭha* was given as a special grant by me the great king to *Dmusvaṇṭa*'; 504 *praṣavidavo* = 'They are to have a grant made them' (*ahuno eḍe praṣavidavo*, the subject of the (passive) verb being the people to whom the grant is made, instead of (as usually) the thing granted).

Skt. *pra* + \sqrt{su} = 'to allow, give up, to deliver'.

prasta: 721. Skt. *prastha* (a measure).

prastami: 225. Locative of *prasta* = Skt. *prastha*-, in the sense of elevated land.

prahatavo = *pradhātavya* 'to be sent' from *prahita* 'sent', § 116.

prahita: 'sent' might be either *prahita* from *prahīṇoti* or *prahita* from *pradadhāti*. The gerundive *prahatavo* points to the latter, the meaning to the former. The two verbs have probably become confused.

prahuḡa: §§ 5, 27.

prahuḡartha: § 55.

prahuni: 318. = Saka *prahona* 'garment' (?). *B.S.O.S.* VII, 514.

It might also be read *prahoni*, cf. § 4.

prigha: 316, 318. Lüders (*Textilien*, p. 30) identifies it with *prīṅga* of the *Mahāvīyutpatti*, which means a kind of silk material.

pricha: § 5.

pritiyena: §§ 67, 70.

priyaśpasuae: § 50.

prihitosmi: § 28.

pruch-: § 5.

preṣi: S. *preṣya*- 'servant'.

preṣeyati: § 97.

preṣeyiṣyasi: § 99.

PH

phaḡitaḡa: 760. = (?).

phalitaḡa: 214. Some kind of horse's food.

phalophala: 524. Cf. Pali *phalāphala* 'all kinds of fruit'.

PĪ

Pīuṃaṣeva: Probably an Iranian name. The latter half of the word seems to be = O.Iran. *zaiba*-, N.Pers. *zēb* (cf. *Aurangzebe*) 'beautiful, or beautifying'. The first half is not clear.

Pīuvasena: Not a native name on account of the initial *pī*.

B

badaśa: § 43.

badho: (also *baṃdhava*, *baṃdh(o)va* and *baṃthova*). In 331 *na ba vo thavidavo* is miswritten for this. It occurs always in a list of

phrases stating the various ways of disposing of property, e.g. 591 *śvarya huda vikrinanae badho thavaṇṇae, namani deyaṇṇae, aṇṇeṣa prahuḍa deyaṇṇae*. In distinction to the other phrases the verb used is *thavaṇṇae* 'to place' not *deyaṇṇae* 'to give'. The meaning may be 'pledge, mortgage' like the Skt. *bandhakaṃ dā-* (Kullūka on *Manu* 8. 143, explaining *ādhu* by *bhūmigodhanādau bhogārthaṃ bandhake datte*). The form is difficult to explain. From the various spellings it might seem that *baṃdhova* is the best form, and this would correspond to Skt. *bāndhavaka-*. But against this Skt. *bandhu-* and its derivatives never had any meaning except that of 'relation, kinsmen'. If we take *baddho* as the original form = *baddha-* the meaning would be all right, but a final *-o* corresponding to the nominative or accusative is irregular. However, there are examples, § 53. In that case the *ṃ* may have been inserted from other derivatives of *bandh-*. As for the alternation of final *-o* and *-ova*, compare *piro, pirova*.

baṃnanae: § 45.

Baladeyu: = *Baladeva*, cf. *Upateyu, Jivateyu*.

bahi: § 91.

bahiya: § 91.

bahu: Declension of, § 71.

bahudhivā: 661. = *bahudipi-*; ? name or title of a scribe.

biti: § 43.

biṃṇaṃti: § 45.

buo: § 91.

Bujhimoyika: Iranian name. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 789.

Butsena: § 13.

Budhapharīna: 655. Written thus for *Budhavarīna* (?).

Buṃni: Place-name (?). Cf. *Puṃniya* and § 14.

bedhana: 288. Miswritten for *vedana* or *vidhāna* (Prof. Thomas) (?).

boyaṇṇa: § 17.

Bošarsa: Cf. *Pošarsa* and § 14.

bramaṇṇa: 554 *śramaṇṇa braṇṇana*. Perhaps taken as an indefinite phrase out of Buddhist literary usage, rather than indicating the presence of Brahmins in Central Asia.

brahmacariṭa: §§ 36, 76.

BH

bhaḡena: = 'on behalf of, in place of', § 92. For the development of meaning compare N.Pers. *zi-bahr-i* 'on behalf of'. The idiom may be due to Iranian influence.

bhaja: 566. = (?).

bhaṭaraḡa: § 37.

bhaṭariae: § 68.

bhaṭare: § 63.

Bhatro: 157. Name of a deity.

bhana: 149. = *bhāṇḍa* (?), cf. § 45.

bharya pate : § 135.

bhaviṣya : § 99.

bhīgi : or *hīgi* 318. Some article described as blue and red.

bhīghu : § 48.

bhija : = *bija* 'seed', § 17.

bhija payati : = Skt. *bija-paryāpti*- 'capacity for seed'. Land is not measured by area but by the amount of seed it will take to cultivate it, e.g. 549 *Samghabudhiyaṣa vaṃti buma vikrida bhija payati milima 1 khi 10* 'He sold to Samghabudhi land (of which) the capacity for seed was *mi. 1 khi 10*'. The treatment of *ry* is not usual (§§ 36-7) as compared with *niryōga karya*. But another example is *aya 409*, which certainly = *ārya*-.

bhīmṇita : § 47.

bhiyo : 579. = Skt. *bhūyaḥ*, Pali *bhiyyo*.

bhudva : § 102.

bhumarṇca : § 62.

bhrata : Declension of, § 72.

M

maimci : § 126.

Mairi : § 28.

maḥa : A commodity appearing among a list of items sent as tax (*palpi*) 714-15, and taken along with *satu* 'meal' as a man's provisions 505. One might think of a connection with Toch. *malke* 'milk', except that in 715 it seems to be sent a long distance (to the capital as tax). The value of the sign *ḥ* is uncertain.

maghalartaya : § 55.

Maṅgeya : § 13.

maṭavo : 278. The meaning required is 'should be measured'. Perhaps it is miswritten for *matavo*.

mata : = *myta* (?), § 5.

matu : Declension of, § 68.

marṇtsa : § 48.

madu pitusya : § 135.

madhya : § 41.

manasikaro : § 53.

maṇnasiyaṇmi : § 72.

maṇnuṣa : § 41. *maṇnuṣe*, § 60.

mama : § 78.

maravara : B.S.O.S. VII, 510 and 785.

marganae : § 103.

maṣu : (= *ṣmaṣrū*-), §§ 38, 49.

maṣa : § 22.

maṣe : § 58.

masu : §§ 22, 50, 71. = 'wine', Lüders, 'Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises', S.P.A.W. (1933), p. 3. For the treatment of *dh*, cf. *aṣimatra* = *adhimatra*. A similar change appears in Palestinian Gypsy (*gesū* = *godhuma*), though since it occurs in only

- one dialect it must have taken place after they left India and can have no direct connection with this. *masu* (i.e. *mazu*), § 22, itself might be an attempt to pronounce an Iranian *maḍu*, but that leaves *aśimatra* unexplained. Cf. further under *śuka masu*.
- masuvi**: § 75.
- masu śaḍa**: 'vineyard'. = Skt. *śāla* 'enclosure, fence' (Lüders, *loc. cit.*).
- masuṣya**: 283. Read *manuṣya*.
- mahatva**: §§ 44, 72.
- mahatveya**: § 60.
- mahanuava**: § 28. Cf. *nuava*.
- mahaṃta**: § 72.
- mahi**: § 78.
- mahuraḡa**: 355. Something measured in *khis*. In Skt. *mahoraga* is given by the dictionaries as the root of a certain plant.
- mahuli**: Lüders (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 640) denies that this = Skt. *mahilā*. It may mean 'grandmother', because Ramotiae, who is said to be the *mahuli* of Sunaṃda (528), is mother of Suḡnuta (538) and a Suḡnuta is father of a Sunaṃda in the same series of documents (524). More likely however it = 'aunt' (< *mātulī*) with *t*, as very rarely, omitted and *h* as hiatus-filler (§ 28).
- milima**: = *μῆδιμος* (Prof. Thomas). Cf. *khi*. There is a confusion between *l* and *d* (ḍ) in Sogdian (Gauthiot, *Grammaire Sogdienne*, vol. I, 12-13), but the evidence seems to be against Sogdian influence in these documents. Cf. also *B.S.O.S.* VII, 785.
- miṣi**: § 38, where it is explained as *miṣrya*, but that is uncertain, cf. under *akri*. Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or.* XII, 38), quoting 582 (*puranaḡa*) *miṣiya bhuma huati, tade paru eṣa bhuma akri ṣatida* 'Formerly it was *miṣi*-land, after that it fell *akri*', regards *miṣi* as = 'cultivated' and *akri* as uncultivated. In that case one might suggest a connection with Saka *ttumāṣā* 'seed-field' (as representing **tauxmamīṣi*-).
- mukeṣi**: See under *lote*.
- mugeṣa**: Can hardly be the same as *mukeṣi* because the sibilants are never confused, § 33. It is some legal expression, probably with the same meaning as *aviṃdama* (cf. s.v.): 591 *ko... aṃñatha icheyati karaṃnae mugeṣa ḡḍamti śaṃḍa aṣpa* 1 *prahara* 20 20 10 'Whoever tries to make it different they have taken upon themselves a penalty (fine) of one *śaṃḍa* horse and 50 blows'.
- mutaṃti**: 63. = *muktī*- 'they released', § 107.
- muti lata**: Skt. *muktā latā*: *muktī* for *muktā* in *Suv. pr. S.* IV, 84.
- muli**: § 9. = *mulya*. It is used to mean both 'price' in general and also a particular unit of value: (1) 422 *niyida muli Kuḡvayaṣa pariḍe uṭa aḡiltsa* 1 'The price was taken from Kuḡvaya, 1 untrained (?) camel'; (2) 345 *taha sarva piṃḍa gaṃnanena muli huda* 1 *Sa* 'So the whole sum being reckoned comes to 100 *muli*'. The locative or instrumental of *muli* is used alongside the name of the object

servicing as payment to indicate how many *muli* it is worth, e.g. 437 *Kompala Suḡiyaśa ca du capariśa muliyami viyala uṭa 1 paḡichitaṃti* 'Kompala and Suḡiya received 1 wild camel worth 42 *muli*'. The following table, collected from the documents, illustrates the value of various articles in *muli*:

571	1 <i>uṭa duvarśaḡa</i>	= 50 <i>muli</i>
571	<i>masu khi 10</i>	= 10 <i>muli</i>
579	<i>tavastaḡa hasta 13</i>	= 12 <i>muli</i>
580	<i>aśpa 1 catuvarśaḡa</i>	= 40 <i>muli</i>
589	<i>uṭa 1 ekavarśaḡa</i>	= 40 <i>muli</i>
590	<i>eka uṭa viyala</i>	= 40 <i>muli</i>
590	<i>uṭa aṃklatsa</i>	= 30 <i>muli</i>
592	<i>uṭa aṃklatsa</i>	= 30 <i>muli</i>
598	<i>khara</i>	= 15 <i>muli</i>
327	1 <i>go</i>	= 10 <i>muli</i>
327	1 <i>kojava</i>	= 5 <i>muli</i>
222	1 <i>kojava</i>	= 10 <i>muli</i>

From 431 it appears that 13 *hasta* of tapestry (*tavastaḡa*) is worth one golden stater. The same is said in 579 to be worth 12 *muli*.

So provisionally we may regard the *muli* as being equal in value to $\frac{1}{12}$ of the golden stater (*suṽarna śadera*).

muśaya: An adverb used with 'give, sell, present', meaning 'without reservation', i.e. so that the previous owner has no further claims: 621 *yo puma eḡaśa Saḡamovi bharya putra dhidara yaṃ ca daśi sarva eḡaśa Saḡamovi muśaya praśavita* 'Again what wife, sons and daughters and what slave-girl of him Saḡamovi (had) Saḡamovi presented all to him without reservation'; 39 *uniti teśemi muśaya tanuṽi hotu* 'The adopted girl belongs to them without reservation'. The etymology is obscure.

muśka: = *mūśika*, § 13.

muśḡeṣu: § 49.

mṛḡa: § 5.

mṛḡa: § 5.

mṛḡhena: 385 *uparyam mṛḡhena pratiḡhami* = 'I await with the greatest impatience (?)', i.e. *aṃmṛḡhena* = *a* + Pali *middha* (Vedic *mṛḡh-*, *mṛḡhra*). But *upari* is not usually used to make a kind of superlative.

meta: Only 179 *meta paḡichitaṃti* 'They received *meta*'. Quite obscure.

mepoḡa: 721. Something sent as a present.

Moṅḡeya: Read *Motḡeya*, § 47. Obviously the same as *Motaḡe* (§ 13).

Y

ya-: §§ 85, 127. .

yaṃ kala: § 128.

yajita: § 17.

yamña : § 44.

yajita : 376. Read *yajita*.

yatu : § 12.

yatma : An official connected with the collection and conveyance of taxes, especially of corn. His functions are to some extent connected with those of the *ageta* (cf. s.v.). In 305 the *yatma* has to pack parcels of corn (*nadha*). In 374 the *yatma* Aco, along with the *tuguja* Sudaršana, assesses the annual tax at Masina. *yatma* is construed with the genitive of *aṃna* 'corn', e.g. 349 *eda aṃnaṣa aṃña pajeka* (read *paḍeka*) *yatmi kartavo* 'Of this corn other *yatmas* are to be made severally'; 430 *kvaavana aṃnaṣa yatma* '*yatma* of the *kvaavana* corn'. We also hear of them in connection with conducting camels, 23, 546.

yatha : § 130.

yadi : § 129.

yala : 431 *aṃña yala*. Cf. § 16.

yava : § 92.

Yave aṃana : Cf. *aṃana*.

yahi : § 131.

yitavya : 164 *aṃnapana suḥa dhannayitavya*. A sort of causative from *dāna-* (?) ('food and drink are to be given them well').

yima : §§ 32, 82.

yiyo : §§ 32, 82.

Yirumdhina : Cf. *aṃana*.

yirka : or *śirka*. According to Sir Aurel Stein (quoted *Khar. Inscr.* p. 308) = 'silk'. Uncertain.

yena : § 132.

R

racana : 225. =(?).

raja : § 41.

rajakaryani : § 61.

rajiye : § 60.

raju : Skt. *rajju-* 'rope'.

raḥi : 574. Some part of the equipment of a vineyard *raḥi vṛḥa paṃni gimnidavo*, possibly an epithet of *vṛḥa*.

raḍi : or *saḍi*; 431-2. =(?).

ratu : *B.S.O.S.* VII, 514. = Av. *ratu*. Pahl. *rat* 'authority, judge', used of the elders in an order of the *bhikṣus*. If it is really the Iranian word it is noteworthy that the final *-u* is preserved at so late a date.

ratriae : § 67.

Ramṣonka : Read *Ramṣotsa* and compare *Ramaṣto*, which is apparently a different form from the same base.

raya : § 17.

rayadvari : § 58.

rayana : See *śamuda rayana*.

- rasaṃna**: 345 *rasaṃna* 2. If=Skt. *raśanā* it should have had the palatal ś: perhaps Iranian N.Pers. *rasan* 'rope', cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 786.
- rasvata**: 80. *rasoṃta* 137, 211; *rāsuwaṃta* 209. Surname or title.
- rucate**: §§ 2, 94.
- rutriyāṃna**: 600. Epithet of *vaḍavī* 'mare' (?).
- rupya**: Skt. *rūpya* 'silver'.
- rete**: 690 *rete uṭaṃ ca*. Obscure.
- rotaṃna**: (*rotaṃ*). Some commodity which had to be sent as tax, 295, 385, etc. *curoma*, another commodity equally obscure, is often mentioned beside it, 272, 357, 430. In 272 *caṃdrikamaṃta* is mentioned along with it.
- There is an Iranian **raudana* which means 'madder' (N.Pers. *rōyan*, *rōyang*, North Balōči *rōdin*). It might possibly be that, but unless the meaning in the Kharoṣṭhi documents can be fixed, it naturally remains uncertain. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 787.

L

- lautgaimci**: 272 *lautgaimci jaṃna*. Quite obscure. May or may not be a proper name.
- laḡeṣati**: Only 166, which is fragmentary. Skt. *lag-* 'follow' (?).
- laṃgho**: § 53.
- laṃcaḡa**: Seems to mean 'rightly, properly, adequately'. Cf. 562 *taha suṭha na laṃcaḡa karetu, mahi maharayaṣa anatiyade aṃñatha karetu* '(In behaving) thus, you certainly do not act rightly, you act differently from the command of me the great king', where the second clause more or less paraphrases the first (cf. 272, 399); 283 *khajabhोजना laṃcaḡa pariṃalitavya* 'They are to be adequately looked after (nourished) with food'. (Very frequent in this phrase, cf. 358, 362, 475; *parival-* has the sense of N.Pers. *parvarīdan*, i.e. 'nourish, feed up, fatten'.) When used in connection with paying taxes, etc. it means 'the full amount due': 622 *avi ciroṃaṣa laṃce iṣa anidavo* 'Also the amount of *ciroma* due is to be brought here' (*laṃce* here may be the noun from which *laṃcaḡa* is derived, or it may=*laṃcaḡa* by § 53); 586 *loteya na laṃcaḡa tita* 'He has not given an adequate ransom'.
- Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or.* XIII, 66) regards the word as derived from Skt. *lañcā* 'gift', and that it means as an adverb 'gratis', and sometimes just a gift. But the meaning does not seem so suitable in a survey of all the passages in which it occurs.
- laṭhanami**: 392. Obscure, but probably not a proper name. Rather (like *kabhoḍhami*) some particular kind of land. A connection with Pers. *dašt* 'plain, desert' is suggested in *B.S.O.S.* VII, 786.
- laṭhaya**: 298. Epithet of *kriṣivatra* 'cultivation', opposed to *apyam-tara* (= *abhya*). So apparently land lying outside a particular boundary round the village. Read *laṭhani*, taking it as an adjective from *laṭhana* (?).

- laṣi**: i.e. **laṣni*, § 44, means 'a gift', as is shown by 678 *ēsvarya bhavayati* . . . *baṃdhova thavaṃnae vikrinanae aṃṣeṣa laṣi deyaṃnae*. In this formula, which occurs frequently (cf. 582, 591, etc.), *aṃṣeṣa prahuḍa deyaṃnae* is usually used in place of *aṃṣeṣa laṣi d°* here. Cf. N.Pers. *dāšan* 'gift', and for the change *d > l* *B.S.O.S.* VII, 786.
- lasta**: 358 *na ba lasta bhaviṣyati*. It may be one word *balasta*. In the Index Verb. *ba* is taken as = *vā*, but that does not occur elsewhere. In 331 (which is given) *na ba vothavidavo* there is certainly a miswriting, *na baṃdhova th°* is intended. Anyway the meaning is obscure.
- lastana**: 'quarrel, dispute'. = Saka *lāstana*, as Konow points out.
- lastuḡa**: Some article of dress because it is made of cloth: 566 *citra paṭa mae lastuḡa* 'a l° made of many coloured cloth'. It is frequently sent as a present. It was not of great value (184 *lahu manasiḡara matra*). Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 786.
- lahamṭi**: § 27.
- laho**: §§ 4, 27.
- livaṣa**: Only 109. Some object sent as a present.
- liṣita**: Cf. *leṣita* and § 1.
- lihati**: § 27.
- leṅga**: i.e. *letḡa*. Only 419. Epithet of *bhuma* 'land'; *aṃṣa letḡa kuthala bhuma*.
- levistarena**: § 3.
- leṣpa**: Some object sent as a present (140).
- leṣ-**: Means something like 'to conduct': 376 *edaṣa Sacade uṭa 2 valaḡam ca dadavya, simaṃmi leṣiṣamṭi tade Caḍodade stora aḡhova valaḡamca dadavya* 'To him from Saca 2 horses and a guard are to be given, they will conduct him as far as the boundary: then from Caḍota a horse fit for its work and a guard must be given'. Skt. *śleṣayati* 'bring near to, in contact with', § 49. (Cf. Prof. Thomas, *Acta Or.* XII, 51.)
- lote**: In 585 *lote* is the ransom paid by a slave for his freedom: *tanu pranasa lote tita maṃmuṣa Cimḡeya nama paṣavi* 4. 2. 'He gave as a ransom for his own person a man called Cimḡeya and 6 sheep'. In all other passages *lote* is used in connection with wedding contracts. No. 32 illustrates what happened: *yallu Opaṣe Peta-āvanemci Saḡapeyaṣa dhitu Cingā Opaṣe Peta-āvana kilmeyaṃmi amida taya lode ṣvasu Cingā Saḡapeyasa ichida deyaṃnae eda ṣvasu aṃṣeṣa dita, na kimci Saḡapeyaṣa dita* 'That Cingā took as his wife in the district of Opaṣa Peta āvana the daughter of Saḡapeya (a native) of Opaṣe Peta āvana. As her *lode* Cingā was going to give his sister to Saḡapeya; this sister he gave to others: he gave nothing to Saḡapeya'. The *lote* is something given in exchange for a wife. Here Cingā gives his own sister in exchange. Usually it is not mentioned what the *lote* was. It may always have been a question of exchange of women, or there may have been pay-

ments for a wife in cattle, etc. (such are actually never mentioned). The custom of exchanging women is illustrated also by 279 *Yavē avānaṃmi kilmeci kala Acuñiṃyaṣa ṣvasu Cakuṃaae nama Ajiyama avānaṃmi kilmeci Pḡnasa bharya aniti huati. taya striyae Yavē avānaṃmi (lo)te—ṣina nidaya, tatra taya putra dhidara jataṃti, Yavē avānaṃmi kilmeciye Caṃcā Pḡnasa dhitu bharyā anida tade avasiṃhe sarvi Ajiyama avānaṃmi tanuṃae hutaṃti, matuae bhagena Yavē avānaṃmi Caṃcāṣa bharya Sarpina huda* 'Cakuṃaae sister of *kala Acuñiṃya* a native of *Yavē avāna* was taken to wife by *Pḡna* of the *kilme* of *Ajiyama avāna*. Of that woman *lote* (and *mukeṣi*) were not taken to *Yavē avāna*. There (in *Aj° a°*) sons and daughters were born to her. *Caṃcā kilmeci* of *Yavē avāna*, took to wife the daughter of *Pḡna*. All the rest (of *Pḡna*'s children by *Cakuṃaae*) have remained belonging to *Ajiyama avāna*. On behalf of her mother *Sarpina* is in *Yavē avāna* as wife of *Caṃcā*'. Here it is clear that no *lote* (and *mukeṣi*) having been given for *Cakuṃaae*, her daughter *Sarpina*, when grown up, is married by a man in *Yavē avāna*, and this serves instead of a *lote*. The interesting thing is that, as far as one can judge, the dealings are not between families but between *avānas* (parishes or townships). It was necessary that one woman having gone from *Yavē avāna* to *Ajiyama avāna* in marriage, another should come from *Aj°* to *Ya°* in exchange. Further information on the regulations prevailing between *avānas* is supplied by 481 *Yapḡu viṃṃaveti yatha eḍaṣa ṣvasu Suḡnumae nama Dhaṃapri Sumadataṣa ca matu, na loti mukeṣi diti. . . pruchidavo yo Suḡnumae veḡa kilme dhaṃa hoati taha Suḡnumae putranam eḍa palḥi Yavē Avānaṃmi kartavo* 'Yapḡu informs us that his sister called *Suḡnumae* is mother of *Dhaṃapri* and *Sumadata*; *lote* and *mukeṣi* has not been given. . . You must enquire, and whatever *Suḡnumae*'s *veḡa kilme dhaṃa* was, according to this, tax is to be provided by her sons in *Yavē avāna*'. It appears from 474 that *Suḡnumae* had been married by the monk *Samgapala*, who belonged to *Catiṣa deva avāna*. The meaning of *veḡa kilme* (usually applied to *stri*) is unfortunately obscure, but it emerges from this document that until the *lote* (and *mukeṣi*) had been paid by the husband for her, or by his children on his behalf, they were under liability to pay the tax in the *avāna* from which the wife came, which was assessed on her head. *lote* usually occurs side by side with *mukeṣi* (474, 481, 585) without it being possible to distinguish exactly between the two terms. Occasionally they occur by themselves: *lode* 32, *mukeṣi* 338, 555. It may indicate different ways in which a substitute for a wife taken was made, e.g. if *lote* as suggested by 32 (see above) meant providing a wife for the people from among whom a wife was taken, *mukeṣi* might mean making some kind of payment. But this is uncertain. Another term which seems to have some connection with this custom is *muṣḍhaṣi* in 573 *Aral-*

piyaṣa matu Ajiyama avānade aniti huati, taha matuae muṣḍhaṣi ta kuḍiya atra nidati 'Aralpi's mother was taken as wife from Ajiyama avāna, and so they took that girl there as *muṣḍhaṣi* (something like 'as a return for') her mother'. It appears that the girl was adopted by Cateya and Catarāga (presumably of Ajiyama avāna) as a kind of return because her mother came from there. All the same the usual payment for an adopted child was made for her.

Prof. Thomas (*B.S.O.S.* vi, 522 ff.) wants to regard the *mukeṣi* as some individual by whom *lote* was paid, but it necessitates forcing the grammar and syntax of certain passages, e.g. by regarding *mukeṣina* as instrumental of *mukeṣi* (instead of *mukeṣi na*), although the instrumental of nouns in *-i* is invariably *-iyena*, § 70.

lomaṭi: 17. = 'foxes'. Skt. *lomaṭaka-*.

V

vaka: (at 574 *vaga*). = 'rent' paid for the use of land: 498 *mahi atra bhumaḥetra na kasya ditaḡa kṛiṣaṃnae, tasmārtha ahuno iṣa Lpīpeyaṣa pariḍe vaka giḍemi, taha bhumaḥetra eḍaṣa Lpīpeyaṣa kṛiṣaṃnaye, tasya kṛiṣidavo* 'I have a field there, which has not been given to anyone to plough. Therefore I have here received rent from Lpīpeya, so (I have given) the field to this Lpīpeya to plough, it is to be ploughed by him'. Similarly in 496 the *vaka* paid by Lpīpeya for a piece of land is two *khi* of ghee. In 559, 574 *vaka aṃna* 'vaka corn' is that part of the produce which is paid to the owner of the land.

vakuṭha: = *apakruṣṭha* (?). If so it is irregular, § 37. It is the participle of *vakoṣaṃti* (see below).

vakoṣaṃti: Meaning and etymology uncertain. It occurs only rarely: 298 *Caku Moḡi Aṣena ṣaca laṣṭana kritāṃti, Caku vakoṣida goṭhi kaṃa karaṃnae Aṣena Moḡiya ṣaca rayadvarammi vakoṣaṃti garahaṃnae* 'Caku, Moḡi and Aṣena made a law-suit. Caku was assigned the duty of doing the work at home while Aṣena and Moḡi take upon themselves the part of presenting the complaint at the king's court'. Such is obviously the general meaning of the sentence. Similarly 750 *na cojho Lpīpeyaṣa vivataṃmi vakuṭha nevi garahida* may mean something like 'He did not take part in Lpīpeya's law-suit and did not present a complaint'; 107 *puna śruvati suḍe draṃghadare atra punar eva (tu le) ṣena vakoṣaṃti ayaḡa karyeṣu* 'Further it is heard that the *suḍe* (= ?) officials are again interfering in the affairs of your worship ((*tu le*)*ṣena* = ?)'.
vaghu: Only 383 *uṭa vaghu*. A kind of camel.

vacari: Some kind of vessel used for holding ghee (159), corn (266), meal (*satu* 214), pomegranates (*dhaḡima, taḡima* 617, 295). They were of various sizes. A *vacari* of 1 *khi* is mentioned (295) and

one of 4 *khi*. There is no indication as to what they were made of, whether wood, earthenware, etc.

vacarina: 345. Apparently the same as *vacari*.

vacitu: § 102.

vačhavała: 182. Another reading is *ra°*, which is perhaps to be preferred: *eša rayaka uťavala puvra rayaka uťavalana rajade vačhavała deyišyamti* 'He is a keeper of the royal camels; formerly they would give to the royal camel-keepers a guard (or guards) from the realm (administration)', i.e. in case of attacks by bandits, etc.

vačhu: 630 *vačhu jaňna* and 338 *nave avaša vačhu prasavetu* 'You are certainly sending new *vačhus*'. They were supplied by the *uryağas*. There is no clue to the nature of their functions.

vajo. (1) A mistake for *vara*: 419 *bhiti vajo*. *bhiti vara* 'a second time' regularly occurs in this phrase. (2) *bhiša vajo* appears in 580 and 587 as a substitute for the usual *bhiša payati*. An attempt to explain *payati* is made under *bhišapayati*. The etymology of *vajo* is quite obscure.

vajita: § 102.

vaťađa: (1) 357. Written by mistake for *vaťayađa* (see below) unless it is another form of the word = Pali *upaťhāka-*. (2) *khamnavata-geši* = 'you are a procrastinator' from **kšanavartaka-* according to Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or.* XIII, 67). The treatment of the *kš* (usually = *čh*, § 48) is irregular.

vaťayađa: (and *vaťhayađa*). = Skt. *upasthāyaka* 'attendant'. The same form is borrowed into Khotanese *vaťhāyaa-* (Konow, *Saka Studies*, Vocab.), e.g. 579 *kori Špalpayaša vaťayađa Širāsa sači*, 'Širāsa, servant of the *kori Špalpaya* is a witness'; 622 *ede uťehi tomgha vaťhayađana sadha tahi puvaťhita iša amidavo* 'These camels are to be brought here along with the *tomghas* and their assistants, under your supervision'.

vaťhayađa: (see above), § 49.

vađavi: 'mare', § 68.

vađaviyani: § 61.

vamťade: § 94.

vamťi: = *upānte* 'in the presence of, near, with'. Khotanese *bendi*. Illustrations of its use are 546 *ogu Bhimašenaša vamťi garahišyama* 'We will make a complaint before the *ogu Bhimašena*'; 579 *tivira Ramšotsaša vamťi bhuma vikrida* 'He sold land to the scribe *Ramšotsa*'; 24 *yatha edaša dajha Sarpigaša vamťi Caule ašpa rna nikhalati* 'That *Caule* has a horse out on loan with his slave *Sarpiga*'. Cf. § 92.

vatu: 140. Something sent as a present to a woman.

vamťnamťe: 517. Surname or title of *Balasena*.

vaniye: 'merchants', § 17.

vayam: § 78.

vara: For *pače vara*, see s.v. *pačevara*.

- varaġa:** (1) 198 *kopi varaġa*. Read *ko pivaraġa* 'which(ever) is fat'.
 (2) 667 *udhisa varaġa na ođita*. Obscure because the text is fragmentary.
- **varaya:** (1) 291. = 'part'; cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 787. (2) 371 *eka varaya bhūya īsa gameśisama* 'Once again we will examine them here' = *vāra* 'time' (and *-ka > ya*).
- varayaṃ:** 206 *ma iṃci varayaṃ bhaviṣyati, ma mahi toṣa kariṣyutu* 'Don't blame me in case there is nothing to stop it' (taking it as = *vāraka-*, but the construction is exceedingly difficult and obscure).
- vartaḍe:** = *vartataka*. (*Lokapraśāsa*, ed. Weber, p. 98, quoted by Prof. Rapson, *Khar. Inscr. Index Verb.*) There ought not to be an intervocalic *ḍ*. It becomes *ḍ̣*. The reading is doubtful. *varamḍe* is a possible alternative.
- vartamana:** Is used as a substantive meaning 'what is happening, events, news' in the phrase e.g. 272 *yahi Khema Khotanmade vartamana hačhati iṃthu ami mahi maharayaṣa padamulaṃmi viṃñiadi lekha prahadavya* 'If there is any news from Khema and Khotan verily a letter of information should be sent to the feet of me the great king'. Cf. also 165 *yo īsa vartamana Lpimsuwaṣa paride ṇadartha bhavidavo* 'What the news is here, you must learn from Lpimsu'.
- vartamano:** § 53.
- vardhi:** 565. = *vṛddhi-* 'growth' with *guṇa* taken from the verb *vardha-*.
- varmi:** or *sarmi*; 163. Something to do with a camel, but the reading of the whole passage is uncertain.
- varṣaġa:** 311 *hastavarṣaġa*, something sent as a present; 318 *varṣaġa* 1, among a list of objects stolen; 243 *hastavarṣe* 3.
- varṣaġana:** 530 *uṭa varṣaġana cimtīdavo*; °*grana* possibly to be read (i.e. *varṣagra(ha)na*, cf. *danagrana*). Possibly also *varṣaġana(na)*, the meaning in any case being 'The age of the camel is to be reckoned'.
- valaġa:** = *pālaka-*. The *v-* is due to compounds like *paṣuvala, uṭavala*, etc.
- valačhidavo:** 569 *emu kaṭavo yatha uṃniya mammuṣa valačhidavo* 'He is to be done to as an adopted person... (?)...'. Obscure. Read perhaps *yatha uṃniya mammuṣa va lačhidavo* (= *manuṣya iva*) 'He is to be characterised as an adopted person'.
- vala matra:** 573 *Yimila laṣiya pruchama vala matra na kiṃci* 'We do not ask of Yimila any gift, not even a hair (*vāla-*)'.
- valiyana:** 725 *avi kaṇṇja valiyana paḷṇiyaya anada ganana pricha kartavo* 'Also a careful inquiry into the accounts of the tax is to be made by the (*k*)aṇṇja vali'. The first member seems to be a variant of *gaṇṇā, kaṇṇā* (= Ir. *gañja*), i.e. Ir. *ganza-* (?).
- vavala:** 585 *camari vavala* 1. Probably dittography for *camari vala* 'chowrie'.

- vaśidemi**: 'I read', § 17.
- vaṣe**: 534 *vaṣe* 4, in a list of objects deposited.
- vaṣḍhīga**: Obscure. 622 *eṣa masu parvatammi giṃmidavo vaṣḍhīga kartavo* 'This wine must be taken to the mountain, and a *vaṣḍhīga* must be made'; 634 *tuvo masu milima 4 2 nikhalidavo, Cgito Cakuvala tahi śadha parvatammi gamtavo vaṣḍhīga karamñāe* 'By you 6 *milima* of wine is to be brought out (provided) and *Cgito Cakuvala* has to go with you to the mountain to make a *vaṣḍhīga*'; 637 *kala Kirteya iśa agata Caḍotammi parvatammi vaṣḍhīga kyta* 'kala Kirteya came here to Caḍota and made a *vaṣḍhīga* on the mountain'. It may have been some kind of regular festival held on the mountain, at which wine was consumed.
- vasammi**: In the phrase *ima varṣavasammi* = 'Rainy season'. Compare Saka *varṣavāyasa* (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 932).
- vasu**: An official title. The *vasu* is mentioned in close connection with the *aḡeta* in the formula (571, 715, etc.) *ko pačima kalammi vasu aḡeta rayadvarammi codeyati vedeyati*. . . 'Whoever at a later time shall find fault or bring the matter up either before the *vasus* and *aḡetas* (i.e. the local judicial authorities) or at the king's court. . .'. In 714 the *vasus*, *aḡetas* and *yatmas* are summoned to the king's court, on account of an inquiry into the conditions of taxation. *Vasus* were common; about twenty-five are mentioned.
- vastarna**: Is perhaps = *upastaraṇa* rather than *avastarana*. It is doubtful if *ava-* could ever appear as *va-*. Either it remains as *ava-* or it is contracted into *o-*.
- vastaramnena**: Only in the obscure phrase 431-2 *eṣa masu śarva astarana vastaranena vikrinidavo*. It is also possible to read *astaranena* (432, note 1).
- vastava**: (and *vastavya*). = *vāstavya* 'residing in, an inhabitant of'.
- vikranamñae**: § 103. = *vikrinanae* (which also occurs). Since it occurs a number of times (586-7, 590, 592) it must be a genuine form and not simply a mistake for *vikrinanae*.
- vikrinita**: 'sold', § 107.
- vikriśamtu**: 'you will sell', § 93. For **vikriśatu*; on the insertion of *anusvāra* where it does not belong, cf. § 47.
- vijitaḡena**: § 112.
- (vicimnanae)**: 654. Probably to be read (*vikrimnanae*).
- viṃṇāvatu**: § 93.
- viṃṇāvayammi**: § 104.
- viṃṇāveti**: (and other forms with *v*). § 29.
- vito**: An epithet connected with *aśpa* 'horse' (209, 415, 574, 648), *paśu* 'sheep' (609) and *go* 'cow' (157, so read instead of *śato*). It may be placed either before or after the noun with which it is used, e.g. 609 *vito paśu* 1; 648 *aśpa* 1 *vito*. The meaning is quite uncertain.
- vithida**: (*vithiśyati*, causative *vithavideṣi*, etc., verbal noun *vithana*). = Skt. *vi-ṣṭhā-*. It is remarkable that the dental *th* always

appears. It must have been reintroduced from the simple verb *thiyati*. The meaning is always active in the sense of 'keep away from, hold back from', not only in the causative *vithav-*, but also regularly in the simple verb *vithi-*, e.g. 165 *ma m̐ci tom̐gana paride u̐ta vithiṣyatu* 'Do not keep the camel back from the *tom̐gas*'. The assumption of an active sense on the part of this verb was probably associated with the change of the past participle passive to an active past tense (see § 105), so that *vithita* meaning 'stood aside, set aside, kept back' developed in a manner parallel to the ordinary transitive verb the meaning of 'he put aside, kept back'. Similarly the verbal noun *vithana* has the active sense of 'keeping back', 57 *ma vithana kartavo* 'There must be no keeping back, putting aside', with reference to the tax that is demanded in the letter.

vidapana? or *vidapa* 1; 318. Separation of words uncertain. Some object among a list of things stolen.

vinatīṣyaṃti: The sense of the passage seems to demand that it is = *vinatīṣyaṃti*: 368 *athava kala . . atikramiṣaṃti, yo Sacamaṃi karyani vinatīṣyaṃti śarva ahu maharaya tahi paride parimargiṣya* 'On the other hand if they . . . overstep their time, whatever affairs in Saca are ruined, I the great king will seek everything from you'. Read probably *vinatīṣyaṃti* with *j* for *ś* (§ 21). The akṣaras representing *j* and *ṣ* are not very different (*Khar. Inscr.* Plate XIV).

vinila: 292 *avi bhīṣa dadavya yena kṣivadra vi ni la vistirna kariṣyati*. No doubt a mistake for *vipula*, compare 216 *vistirna vipula cimtīdavo*. That is obviously what the sense demands: 'And also seed is to be given so that they can make full and extensive cultivation'.

vibhaṣita-: = **vibhaṣita-* for *vibhakta* (which also occurs), § 17. The alternative reading *vibhayita* is probably to be preferred because *j* seems always to have become *y* (while *c* becomes *ś*, *j* (*ṣ*)). The meaning is 'made a legal decision'.

viyala: = *vyāla-*. Epithet of *u̐ta* 'camel' meaning 'wild, bad to manage'. Lüders (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 647 ff.) wants to separate it from this and regards it as a native word. But the group *vy* is unfamiliar in the native language.

viyalitavo: (*viyalidavo*, *vyalidavo*). Always in the formula addressing letters, e.g. 140 *bhataraganam̐ soṭham̐ga Lpīpeya Sarpinae ca padamulam̐mi viyalidavo*. According to Prof. Thomas (*Acta Or.* XII, 15) = **vijālitavya-* 'to be untied'.

viyoṣita: (*viyoṣidavo*, etc., also *vyoṣ-*), §§ 37, 42. = 'hand over (a payment that is due)': 434 *eda Kutreyaṣa viyoṣidavo, Budhasenaṣa niyidavo* 'This (horse) is to be delivered by Kutre and taken by Budhasena'; 142 *Lpīpeya paṣevara avamicae dita milima 1 khi 1 yahi purvika iṣa giṃnaṃti atra diguna viyoṣeṃti tena vidhanena atra soṭham̐ga Lpīpeyaṣa paṣevara viyoṣitavo* 'Lpīpeya gave some food as a loan, *mi* 1, *khi* 1; the traditional rule is that people pay back

twice as much as they receive; according to that rule the food is to be repaid to the *ṣoṭhaṃga* *Lpipeya*'.

The verb is no doubt = Pkt. *vosirañ*, which the grammarians derive from *vy-ava-ṣṛj-*. That would not account for this form, which seems to represent **vy-ava-ṣrayati*. This is further supported by the forms which occur (without *vi-*) in the *Mahāvastu*, cf. Senart's note on I. 13. 6. There are three forms: *osarati*, *osirati* and *ośirati*. The difference of the vowel (*a* and *i*) would be understandable, if it were a svarabhakti vowel out of an original group *śr*, and the *ś* in the third form may be original.

viraḡa: § 16.

viloṭa: 'plundering', usually in conjunction with *aloṭa*, e.g. 494 *Khotamniyana aloṭa viloṭade purva* 'Before the ravaging and plundering by the Khotanese'. The *ṭ* (not *ḍ*) indicates a double consonant *-ṭṭ-*. The corresponding Sanskrit word appears as *luṭh-* or *luṭṭ-*, with a nasal inserted.

vilomaya: 510. Probably to be read *vilomani*.

vivatha: = *vivāda-*, § 26.

viṣati: '20', § 46.

viṃśpade: Only 82 *Suḡutaṣa viṃśpade Cimḡeyaṣa śatade* 'From Suḡuta's *viṃśpa* and Cimḡe's *śata*'. *śata*, literally 'hundred', is an administrative division: *viṃśpa* being used parallel to it must be something the same, but the form is obscure. Phonetically it must represent *viśva-*, which does not fit the sense.

viṣaj-: 'to send'. The two forms *viṣaj-* and *viṣarj-* are used indiscriminately, § 37.

viṣalavita: = *viṣaṃlap-*, § 47.

vismaridaḡa: 'forgotten'. The group *sm* is preserved in this word though usually *s* is omitted. Cf. § 49.

viheṭa: § 18. Usually *viheḍ-*.

viheḍeti: = *viheṭhayati* 'trouble, molest, harass': 164 *avi ca ahono iṣa Peta avānemiye palpi dhamaṃ prace suṭha viheḍenti* 'And now here the people of Peta *avāna* are causing trouble about the conditions of taxation'; 206 *Sujata iṣa suṭha viheḍitamti* 'They harassed Sujata a great deal here'.

vucati: § 94.

vuta: 655. = *uṭa* 'sown'.

vurcuḡa: Denotes a particular class of people: 554 *sarva tramghadhare goṭha bhāṭara jaṃna śramaṃna bramāṃna vurcuḡa śaca ede jaṃna . . . iṣa amitavo* 'All the state officials, the people who are heads of houses, monks, brahmins and *vurcuḡas* . . .' *vurcuḡa* is a title of Luṭhu in 277; *vurcuḡa luṭhuaṣa pradejade* 'From the district of the *vurcuḡa* Luṭhu'. We also have the phrase *vurcuḡana pradejade* 'From the district of the *vurcuḡas*' twice (277, 304), both times heading lists of camels and the individuals connected with the transaction.

vuryaḡa: Some kind of official. Four or five people are given this

title: Opgeya (290, 384), Vuru (569), Ratge (586, 715), Pğita (579). In 215 *vuryağa* is given as a possible alternative reading to the one given in the text. The *vuryağa* Opgeya is head of a *pradeja* 'district': 762 *aṃna muli vuryağa Opgeyaṣa pratejade lihitaga* 'The price of the corn from the district of Opge was written'. A variant of the word is *uryağa* (cf. § 30) in 630 *treya uryağana paride jaṃna 10 4 1 kala Puṃñabalasa dadavo* 'From the three *uryağa* 15 people are to be given to *kala* Puṃñabala'.

vṛtağa: = *vṛddhaka-*, § 24.

vṛdhe: Plural, § 60.

veğa: (also *véğa*). In the phrase *veğa kilme striyana* the term indicates some class of women: 211 *veğa* (so read instead of *draga*) *kilme striyana palfi na anisyaṃti* 'They will not bring the tax of the *veğa kilme* women'; 714 *avi véğa kilme striyana palfi şura pruchidavo* 'Also the tax of the *veğa kilme* women is to be demanded (or enquired into) in full'. After general instructions about *palfi* 'tax', the *palfi* of the *veğa kilme* women is mentioned by itself as a special class. 165 *veğa kilme striyana palfi bhuma na va ka aṃna şpora vişajitavo* admits of two readings, either *bhuma navaka aṃna* as in the text or *bhumana vaka aṃna*. Translated according to the latter reading it runs: 'The tax of the *veğa kilme* women (and) the corn paid as rent (see under *vaka*) for the lands is to be sent in full.' 481 *Yapgu viṃñaveti yatha edaşa şvasu Suğnumae nama Dhaṃapri Sumadataşa ca natu, on loti mukeşi diti . . . pruchidavo, yo Suğnumae veğa kilme dhaṃa hoati taha Suğnumae putranam eda palfi Yaşe avanammi kartavo* 'Yapgu says that his sister called Suğnumae is the mother of Dhaṃapri and Sumadata *loti* and *mukeşi* have not been given . . . you must enquire into it, what obligations Suğnumae has concerning *veğa kilme*, this tax is to be paid by the sons of Suğnumae in *Yaşe avana*'. There is obviously not enough material here for deciding the meaning of the word, but it is possible that it represents **vēka* out of Iranian *vidavak* (Pahl. *vēvak*, N.Pers. *bēvah*), meaning 'widow'. Certainly Suğnumae in 481 was a widow, because the dealings are with her sons, not her husband. Even then the phrase *véğa kilme* is difficult; *kilme* usually means something like 'district'. The *veğa kilme* might mean something like the 'widows' department', 'widows' state'.

veda: (or *reda*). A particular object (655).

veya: 'we', §§ 6, 78.

vera saṃśaya: 283 *yo teşa vamti purimağa vera-saṃśaya taṃ vismaritavya* 'They must forget their old hatred and suspicion'.

velaṃmi: § 67.

vela velaya: § 67.

vevatuga: § 75.

vothavidavo: 331. It is not equal to *vyavasthāpayitavya-*. Initial *vy-* is not assimilated to *v* (§ 42). The passage runs: *na vikrimidavo*

na ba vo thavidavo nevi goṭhade dura nikhālidavo. By comparison with similar formulas (see s.v. *baṃdhova*) there is little doubt that *ba vo* has been miswritten for *badho* or *baṃdhova*.

vyāga : = *vyaya* 'expense', § 16.

vyālidavo : See *vyālitavo*.

vyarivala : *vihāra pāla-*, cf. § 28.

vyālpi : Fem. of *vyāla* 'wild', § 31.

vyavasthavidāga : 229 'arranged, settled'.

vyochimna : 506. = *vyavachinna-* used as an active past tense (§ 107).

The form *vyochimnida-* is the usual one; 'decided'.

vyoṣeti : See *vyoṣeti*.

vraçhi : 586 *vraçhi chimnaṇṇae* obviously represents *vrkṣa* 'to cut down the trees'. Probably miswritten for *vriçha* (i.e. the vowel stroke attached to the wrong akṣara). That would regularly = Skt. *vrkṣa*, § 5.

Ū

veṣi : 719. Cannot = *veṣyā* on account of the *ṣ*. The palatal *ś* is always kept distinct.

Ṣ

śakara : 'sugar', § 37.

śakoma : § 95.

śagri : Epithet of *masu* 'wine' (or 'grapes') 349, opposed to *śuki masu* (see s.v. *śuka*). It seems to be equivalent to *śaḍi*, which occurs twice (169 and 221), and perhaps should be read so. *śaḍi* would mean 'wine or grapes fresh from the vineyard' (*śaḍa*).

śaçhami : (*śaçhe, śaçhyami*), §§ 41, 99.

śaṃḍa : Epithet of *aṣpa* 'horse'. No doubt = Skt. *śaṇḍha*, meaning 'a castrated horse'. The confusion of sibilants is noticeable, but the writing wavers in Sanskrit between *śaṇḍa* and *śaṇḍha* (Monier-Williams, *Skt. Dict.*). We find initial *ś-* for instance in the *Bower MS.* (see the Index, s.v. *śaṇḍya*).

śaḍa tammi : § 18.

śata : An administrative division meaning something like 'a hundred (households)'. Frequently at the head of lists containing accounts of taxes, etc., e.g. 168 *Svayaṣa śadammi masu ṣeṣa khi* 10 4 'In the *śada* of Svaya, arrears of wine 14 *khi*'.

śata racana : Something among a list of objects stolen (225).

śato go : Read *vito*, as suggested alternatively.

śadani : Plural, § 61.

śadavida : An official title. They were closely connected with the *karsenaṣas*. They are mentioned together, e.g. 482 *edaṣa kilme-yaṇmi Molpina bhuma ladhaye, śadavida karsenaṣa achimnamti, na oḍemti kriṣaṇnae* 'In his *kilme* Molpina has received some land, the *śadavidas* and *karsenaṣas* take it from him and will not let him plough'. Also in 86. They are mentioned as transporting the

commodities paid as tax to the king (159, 247); Ricikga is called a *śadavida* at 715, a *karsenava* at 590.

One might regard it as a denominative from *śada* meaning 'a person put in charge of a *śada*' (see above s.v.). Of the people given the title of *śadavida*, most are mentioned as being in charge of *śada*'s, namely Suḡita (76; 247), Yapḡu (76; 656), Maṣḡhige (41; 436), Kapḡeya (41; 569). The title is comparatively not very frequent, about nine being mentioned by name.

śamuḡa raya(na): Occurs twice: 252 *śamuḡa rayana khayana māmtsa dadavo* 'śamuḡa rayana and meat to eat shall be given'; 387 *ahuno śamu(ḡa) rayana imci viṣajidavo sudha namata 2 viṣajidavo*. In the latter passage it is obvious that **raya na imci* should be read, because *imci* does not occur by itself but only with the negatives *na* and *ma*. Translate: 'Now the *śamuḡa raya* are (or is) not to be sent, only (*sudha*) the two felt garments are to be sent.'

The significance of the term is quite obscure. In 387 *śamuḡta* is given as a more probable reading in the corrections (*Khar. Inscr.* p. 292). If so it may be the same as *śamuta* in 15, which is equally obscure.

śamuta: 15. Possibly the same as *śamuḡta* (*śamuḡa*) (see above).

Śamṣena: § 13.

śaratammi: § 72.

śavāvitavya: Causative of *śap-*, § 104.

śāsana: = *śāsana*, § 33.

śimḡavera: 'ginger', § 5.

śiḡra: 'quickly', § 90.

śiḡha: *śiḡta-* (*śās*) 'punishment, chastising': 248 *śiḡha nigrāha kartavya* 'Chastising and punishment is to be made'; 248 *ahuno Cimolaṣa śiḡha kiḡa prahara dita* 'Now chastisement was performed on Cimola, blows were given'. Similarly 371, 517.

śiḡhidavya: 482 *go aviḡdama śiḡhidavya* 'They are to be punished by paying a cow as damages'. On double formations like this see § 116.

śiḡhe: 'remaining, left over', 305, 519. = *śiḡtaka* (*śiḡ-*). On *-e < aka*, see § 53.

śitiyaḡmi: Seems obviously from 678 to mean 'side': *Kroraiḡnaḡmi mahaḡta nagaraṣa daḡhina śitiyaḡmi bhuma* 'Land in Kroraina on the right-hand side of the great city'. The only other passage where it occurs is 604 *yaḡ kālaḡ Ramaḡṣa śitiyaḡmi Caṣḡeya soḡgha amita* 'At the time when Caṣḡeya brought *soḡgha* (= ?) to the side of Ramaka'. The reading *yiti-* is also possible (*Khar. Inscr.* p. 308).

Śilaprava: § 20.

śilpiḡa: 'artisan', § 40.

śiśila: = *śiḡhila-* 'slack', § 50.

śuka: Epithet of *masu* 'wine' or 'grapes' (see s.v.). Not = *śulka* 'tax' as Lüders ('Zur Geschichte des ostasiatischen Tierkreises',

S.P.A.W. (1933), p. 6) takes it, because it is used exclusively of *masu* and never of other commodities, while the usual word for 'tax' is *palpi*.

masu undoubtedly means wine, because it is referred to as a liquid (cf. s.v. *masu* and 633, 175). Possibly however it may have had the meaning of 'grapes'. At any rate *suka* is easiest to explain on that supposition, i.e. *śuśka*- 'dried grapes'. The aspirated form *śukha* occurs once (387). On the omission of aspiration see § 24. More difficult is the fact that the regular treatment of *śk* is *śg* (see § 49).

Dried grapes also figure in Tibetan documents from the same region. Prof. Thomas, *J.R.A.S.* (1934), p. 475.

If *masu* means wine, *suka* might be regarded as connected with the Skt. *śukta*- meaning 'fermented'. The relationship of the two forms would be something like that between Pkt. *mukka*- and Skt. *mukta*-. A further possibility is *śukla*, referring to the colour of the wine.

śuga bhava: (*°Bava*) 252. Quite obscure.

śudha: 'cleared off; clearing off' (of payments, debts, obligations).

Usually in the phrase *śudha upagata*. Cf. *śodheti* in the sense of 'pays off'.

śune lomaṭi: 'dogs and foxes' (see s.v. *lomaṭi*).

śeṣa: 'arrears' of tax.

śodhitavo: (*śodheyiṣyasi*, etc.). = 'pays off' of *śudha*.

śpeta: = *śveta*, § 49.

śramam: = *śramana*, § 13.

śrutaḡena: § 112.

śruniti: Indecl. part., § 102.

śruyati: 'it is heard', § 94.

śvasu: 'sister', §§ 22, 49, (decl.) 68.

śvasti: § 49.

§

śada: See *B.S.O.S.* VII, 514. There are two alternatives: (1) that it = N.Pers. *šād*, etc. 'pleased'. If so it is interesting, because the Khotanese Saka is excluded as the dialect from which it was borrowed. They have *tsāta*-; (2) that it is Indian Pali *sāta* 'pleasant', *assāta*- 'unpleasant', out of *śrāta*-, 'cooked', hence 'sweet'. In view of the prevalence of Iranian influence in the language, the first alternative is probably to be preferred, as being less complicated.

śamdedavo: § 116.

śadosmi: § 106.

śamna: 'hemp', Skt. *śāna*, with palatal. Cf. N.Pers. *šan* (š=ś).

śamana: = *śramana*, § 68.

śamimna: 318. Some article.

śamiyena: A completely obscure term used in connection with *masu*

'wine' (637) and *amna* 'corn' (103). Also *šamiyo* (225), e.g. 703 *se amna saṅgalidavya Saṅgoṣasya picavidavya milima 4 1 du khi šamiyena* 'That corn is to be collected and delivered to Saṅgaṣa, five *milima* and 2 *khi*, *šamiyena*'; 637 *Cikiṃto, vasu Saḡamoya Tumpala Cakola śaca masu parvateṣu šamiyena milima 4 2 giḡati* 'Cikiṃto, the *vasu* Saḡamoya Tumpala and Cakola took wine into the hills *šamiyena* 6 *milima*'.

šayati: 'seizes'. = *šrayati -te* §§ 6, 38: 324 *vasu Yonuša dajha maṃmuša Saṃrpina nama Supiya šayitaṃti, Cinaṣḡaṣiyasa prahuḡa prahitaṃti* 'The Supis seized a slave man of the *vasu* Yonu called Saṃrpina and sent him as a present to Cinaṣḡaṣi'; 713 *yam ca yudhaṃmi maritaṃti, Yam ca jivaṃtaḡa šayitaṃti* 'Both those which they slew in battle and those they took alive'.

šinga poṅge: i.e. *šitḡa poṅge*, cf. § 47. See s.v. *poṅge*.

šilpoḡa: 'document' or 'tablet'. Some of the documents refer to themselves as *eda šilpoḡa* (470). They are regularly mentioned as being written *šilpoḡa lihitaga* (312, 470). Lüders (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 652) compares Toch. A. *šlyok* = Skt. *śloka*. It is there perhaps a native Tocharian word identified with the Sanskrit rather than a borrowing. Otherwise such irregularity would be difficult to explain. Perhaps too with an originally more general meaning as seen here.

šulga: 582 *eta šulga lihitaga*. Obviously the same as *šilpoḡa*. A phonetic variant (*šilpoḡa* = *šilyoḡa*, § 31), or merely an error of spelling (?).

šulpaḡamḡha: Some article that has to be sent.

šeyita: § 6.

šeraka: 289 and 431-2. A proper name (?).

šo: '6', § 89.

šoṭhaṃḡa (and *šoṭhaṃḡha*): An official in the royal administration charged with keeping the accounts of taxation and royal property (camels, etc.), 'tax-collector'. Such in general seems to have been the nature of their functions to judge from the allusions which occur. We find individual *šoṭhaṃḡas* charged with peculation: 272 *eda masu masuwi šoṭhaṃḡa draṃḡhadhare śarve paričhinavitaṃti* 'This wine the *šoṭhaṃḡas* belonging to the wine department and the officials have consumed entirely'; 567 *suḡiya viṃṃaveti yatha edaṣa caturtha varṣa huda šoṭhaṃḡha huda, goṭhaṃmi suṭha vinaṭhaḡa, iṣa masuwi draṃḡammi gaṃnana kiḡae huda, Suḡiya Pḡiṣa śaca dharanaḡa hutamti masu śada paṃcaśa milima pramana . . . yati eṣa Suḡiya goṭhami vinaṭhaḡa siyati, eṣa Suḡiya šoṭhaṃḡa dhaṃade nikhalidavya, aṃṇia šoṭhaṃḡa kartavya, yo masu rayaka masu masuwi draṃḡami dharanaḡa hutamti, taha se masu Suḡiya Pḡiṣa śaca viyoṣidavya, puranaḡa masu saṅgalidavo, yo navaḡa masu-vaṃmi Suḡiyaṣa nasti karya, aṃṇeṣa šoṭhaṃḡana saṅgalidavya* 'Suḡiya says that this is the fourth year that he has been a *šoṭhaṃḡa*; he has lost a lot on the farm. Here in the wine office

a reckoning has been made. Suḡiya and Pḡiṣa owe 150 *milima* of wine. . . . If this Suḡiya has lost it on the farm, he must be removed from the duty of *ṣoṭhamga*. Another person must be made *ṣoṭhamga*. The wine, royal wine that they owe to the wine department, this wine Suḡiya and Pḡiṣa must pay: the old wine is to be collected, as regards the new wine Suḡiya has nothing to do with it, it is to be collected by the other *ṣoṭhamgas*.' From this it is quite clear that the *ṣoṭhamghas* were engaged in collecting commodities, wine, etc., paid as tax: also that they were appointed by the local *cojhbo*, the letter being addressed to *cojhbo* Somjaka.

The office was nearly related to that of *divira* 'scribe'. The *divira* Ramṣotsa is also referred to as *ṣoṭhamgha* Ramṣotsa. In 520 Suḡiya is said to hold two offices, that of *ṣoṭhamgha*, and that of scribe. The *divira* Moḡiya (598) is son of the *ṣoṭhamgha* Moteḡa. The *divira* Vuḡaca (507) is son of the *ṣoṭhamgha* Luṭhu. The *ṣoṭhamgha* Kamjaka (182) is said to be in charge of the royal camels. *ṣoṭhamghas* are charged with conducting camels to the king (341). They were charged with making payments from the royal treasury. Letters are addressed to the *ṣoṭhamgha* Lṣipeya to make provision for envoys to Khotan (14, 135), to pay a woman's wages (19), in connection with the appointing of officials (435), etc. The word occurs in Toch. A. as *ṣoṣṭāṅkāñ* 'tax-collectors' (cf. H. W. Bailey, B.S.O.S. VIII, 905).

ṣodhama: 'sixth', § 89.

ṣḡabhanae: *skabh-*, § 49.

ṣvaṭhamga: § 7.

S

sa: § 90.

saṃgalitaḡa: (*saṃgalitavo*, *saṃgh-*, etc.). = 'collect'; Skt. *saṃkalayati*, § 46.

saḡaji: § 1.

sa ca: (1) § 122. Meaning 'and'. Possibly = Vedic *sacā* 'with', although the writers seem to have regarded it as the genitive termination with *-ca*. At any rate they occasionally wrote *-asya ca* instead: 561 *aṅklatsa puṭḡetsa odarasya ca* (three different kinds of camel: subject of the sentence).

(2) An introductory particle appearing at the head of messages in letters, e.g. 1 (and *passim*) *mahanuava maharaya lihati, cojhbo Tamjakaṣa matra deti, sa ca* . . . 'The great king writes, he gives instruction to the *cojhbo* Tamjaka, namely . . .'. In private letters after the introductory formulas the contents of the message are introduced by *evam ca viṃati, sa ca* . . . (288) 'And thus is the message, namely . . .' or more often *evam ca, sa ca* . . .

sacadhamastidaṣa: Title of king Arḡoka. = *satyadharmasthita* 'abiding in the true law'.

saṃcaya: = *saṃśaya* 'doubt', § 48.

Sacyami: Miswritten for *Sacammi*, § 41.

- sācī**: 'witness'; declension of, §§ 60, 70.
- saṃcīhītena**: = *saṃkṣiptena* 'in brief'.
- sajavanae**: 'to make ready', § 103.
- sajeyati**: Optative, § 100. Only used in the phrase *ko paścīma kalammi vedeyati codeyati sajeyati*, a formula referring to bringing a question before the law and finding fault with an agreement already made. In its place we find in 661 *yo pacema kali . . . cūdiyadi vidīyadi vivadu uthavīyadi*. It is not clear how the meaning can be connected with Skt. *sajyati* 'cling'.
- saṃñā**: = *saññā*-, § 44. Usually in the phrase *tanu saṃñā janidavo*, e.g. 585 *asmabhi kilmecei avaśa jhenīga hotu tanu saṃñā janidavo* 'The people belonging to our *kilme* must certainly be under your care, they are to be recognised as your own'. Either the phrase is to be regarded as a Bv. compound *tanusaññā*-, something like 'characterised as one's own', or more probably *tatpuruṣa* = *tanusaññā jñātavyā* 'an idea that they are your own is to be recognised', because in 331 *tanu* and *saṃñā* are separated: *yatha tanu dita saṃñā janidavo*.
- saṃta**: § 101.
- satriśa**: 209, may be *sadrśa* 'a penalty equal for both parties'.
- saṃdena**: 475 *sarva saṃdena arogeṃi* 'I am well with all that belongs to me'.
- sadha**: 'with', §§ 22, 37, 92.
- saṃdhiṣeḥyama**: 702. Quite obscure; probably something has been miswritten.
- sapiṃḍa**: 71. = 'owned in common'.
- saṃprajaya**: 399 *saṃprajaya kartavya kujala kartavya brahmacariṭa*. The letter closes with formulas from the Buddhist religion, naturally in a different style and language from that of the ordinary documents. Obviously *saṃprajānya*- is meant, Pali *sampajāñña* 'care, attention, circumspection'. The treatment of *ny* is unexpected.
- saṃpreṣeyati**: § 6.
- saṃbāṃdhamma**: *mitra saṃbāṃdhamma*. Written for *saṃbadhama* 'We have formed a friendship'. On the insertion of *anusvāra* where it does not belong, cf. § 47.
- samao**: 'with', §§ 22, 92.
- samaya**: 'agreement, contract'.
- samarena**: 164. An official designation parallel with *tsaṃghina* and *kvemaṃdhina*. In 387 *samarenaṃmi* is given as an alternative reading for *samasenaṃmi* in the text. There, likewise, the term is used in connection with taxation.
- samaha**: = *samao*, §§ 28, 92.
- samuha**: §§ 27, 90.
- saṃdhae**: § 5.
- saṃme**: 149, 617. An abbreviation for *saṃvatsare*.
- samovaḍa**: 'agreement'.

- sarachidati** : = *sarajitamti*, § 27.
- sarajitamti** : = *saṃrañj-*, § 47.
- sargita** : 47 *edaṣa goṭha gṛhavaśa Apḡeyena udaḡena sargita* 'His farm and house were flooded with water by Apḡeya'; from $\sqrt{\text{srj}}$, *sarga-*.
- sarva** : Declension of, § 88.
- śarvabhavena** : § 90.
- śarvaṣu** : Only 422: *śarvaṣu Ajiyama avānaṃnci kilme uthidati...*
Obscure.
- śarvaṣaṃ** : 326 *Kaṃaya ni goṭha gṛhavaśa bhumaçhetra śarvaṣaṃ tena samao*. Read *śarvaṣaṃtena* as one word. 'K.'s farm, house, land along with everything that is his'; cf. s.v. *saṃdena*. For *sarvasanta-* in the sense of 'all one's belongings', cf. *Divyāvādāna*, p. 439, l. 30.
- sarva śpara** : See s.v. *śpara*.
- sarvina** : Gen. Plural, § 88.
- sali** : *syāla-* 'brother-in-law', § 41.
- saṃvatsare** : § 58.
- saṃśaya** : See *vera saṃśaya*.
- sasteyammi** : = 'divasammi', cf. *sastehi* below.
- sastehi** : Same as *sasteyammi*. It occurs also in three Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions from N.W. India (*C.I.I.* vol. II, Index). Konow (*ib.* p. 152) explains it as a participle *sasta-* from Iranian *sad-* 'to shine'. The word is not known to occur in this sense in any Iranian dialect that is preserved, but the development of meaning is quite natural; cf. N.Pers. *rōz* from *ruç-* 'to shine'. More difficult to explain is the termination *-hi*. It is less common than *-eyammi*. Since it is the only form that occurs in the (older) inscriptions from India, it is no doubt the original form, while *sasteyammi* represents the analogical introduction of the usual termination of the locative singular. Konow (*loc. cit.*) explains it as instrumental plural, but the syntax is by no means clear.
- sahasrahani** : §§ 28, 61.
- sahini** : Epithet of *bhija* 'seed', differentiating it from *juṭhi*, which is equally obscure (see s.v.): 291 *sā amna cavala saṃgalitavo, dui bhaga juṭhi, eka bhaga sahini, uṭa 20 20 tre tre milima nadha kartavo* 'That corn is to be quickly collected, two parts *juṭhi*, one part *sahini*. Forty camels are to be loaded with 3 *milima* each'; 387 *bhuma vikrida bhija sahini vajo khi 4 3* 'He sold land with a capacity for 7 *khi* of *sahini* seed'.
- sānapru** : 660 (also *sanapru*). Some article consisting of cloth.
- śikhī** : Epithet of *amna* 'corn', 532. Meaning unknown.
- śigatammi** : § 67.
- siṃgha** : § 47.
- sīdhalavaṇna** : 109. Apparently *siddhalavaṇa-*, meaning some kind of salt. Something corresponding to *siṃdhu-* or *saindhava-* would be more familiar. Saka has *sidaluṃ* translating *saindhova* which is obviously derived from our word.
- sima** : § 67.

simici: § 77.

siyati: § 42.

sira: Only 140 *si*^o 3. Some article.

sukri: Only 74. Epithet of *uṭa* 'camel'.

suji na kirta: Only 318 in a list of objects; Lüders (*Textilien*, p. 31) points out that this word = N.Pers. *sōzankard*. Ar. lw. *sūsānjird* 'embroidery', 'needlework'.

suṭha: = *suṣṭhu* 'very'. The form must correspond to something like **suṣṭham*.

suḍa: or *sutra*; reading uncertain. Epithet of *muli* 'price', e.g. 590 *aṃṇā sutra muli giḍa* 4 4; 480 *aṃṇā atga suḍa muli giḍa aṃṇa milima* 1 *khi* 10 (see also *atga*). In 714 without *muli* in a list of things sent as tax: . . . *croṃa*, *aṃṇā suḍa ekamaṃṭa*. . . . The meaning is quite obscure.

suḍi: = (?) 566. *suḍi karna bamdhana*.

suḍe: 107. Epithet of *dramgadhare* 'officials'.

sudha: = 'only', § 91. The etymology is not clear.

Supiye: Name of a hostile people always mentioned as engaged in marauding activities, carrying off animals (212) and men (324, 491). They are mentioned as attacking Calmadana (= Cercen) 119, 324, 722, Caḍota 183. There was a garrison at Sāca (Endere) to watch out for them, 133, 578. The *cojhbo* Saṃjaka at Caḍota was not strong enough to oppose them in the field, and locked himself and the inhabitants within the city walls, until they went away. The desert on the north and Khotan in the west being excluded, they must have been tribes in the Kun-Lun mountains to the south-east of that strip of the Shan-Shan kingdom which ran up through Cercen to Niya. In the Saka text published by Leumann (E XVI. 9) they are mentioned as Supīya (which shows that the *i* was long), along with Huns and other invaders who attacked the Kingdom of Khotan. Cf. further Prof. Thomas in *Acta Or.* XII, 54 ff. and *Tib. Texts and Docs.* pp. 78 and 156.

sumiṃna: 'dream', 151.

Suliga: Either = 'inhabitant of Kashghar' as Prof. Thomas suggests, or possibly 'Sogdian'. On the form, cf. Gauthiot, *Grammaire Sogdienne*, I, p. vi.

suvēṭha: (also *suvēṣṭa*). A title. Nothing very definite about their sphere of activity is to be learned. The *suvēṭha* Khosa goes on an embassy to Khotan (362). *Suvēṭhas* act as judges along with *ogus*, *cojhbos*, etc. (506, 709). About nine are mentioned.

suśaḡa: 215. Some class of individuals: *treya suśaḡa eka eka poṭaḡa giḍaṃti* 'The three s^os took one young animal each'. Another possible reading is *vuryaḡa* (see s.v.). The word appears as *sujaga* in 387 *sujaga rajadhama kareṃti*. 'Informer' (*sūcaka*-)?

suṣmela: = Skt. *sūkṣmela*, a particular kind of spice ('cardamoms').

On the treatment of *kṣ*, cf. § 48.

suha: = 'well', §§ 27, 91.

- se:** = *sa*, §§ 12, 22, 80.
- seniye:** 'soldiers', § 60.
- so:** = *sa*, § 80.
- sokhalīga:** 665 *sokhalīga sarthaṣa* 'The *sokhalīga* caravan'. Name of a place (?).
- soṃgha:** Occurs twice. 637 *aṃṃa, kālaṣa padamulāde varṣa varṣi rajadhareyana soṃgha praṣavitāga* 'Another thing, *soṃgha* was granted year by year from the feet of the *kala* to the employees of the state'; 604 *yaṃ kala Ramakaṣa ṣitīyaṃmi Caṣṣeya soṃgha anīta* 'When Caṣṣeya brought *soṃgha* to the side of (? cf. *ṣitīyaṃmi*) Ramaka'.
- sotira:** Apparently a title. 580 *sačhi divira Apṣeya sačhi sotira tasuca Catata* 'The scribe Apṣeya was a witness, the *sotira tasuca* Catata was a witness'. Possibly an adaptation of the Gk. *σωτήρ*.
- soṃstaṃni:** 149. Some article. Probably some piece of apparel because it is mentioned between *kaṃculi* 'girdle' and *kayabaṃdhana*.
- stasyati:** §§ 41, 99.
- stora:** = Av. *staora-*, Pahl. *stōr*, N.Pers. *sutūr* 'a large animal' (camel or horse) or simply 'horse'. In 13 *vaḍavi storam ca*, it obviously means 'horse'. In 164 *sada storena, jaṃna samaho*, it means 'animals' as opposed to *jaṃna* 'people'.
- storavara:** 'riding on a *stora*'. Iranian *-bāra* as in O.Pers. *asabāra-*, etc. Formed with the same suffix are also *aṣpavara, uṭavara*, and possibly *Pursavara* (a proper name). In Skt. *aṣvavāra* (Epic.).
- stovaṃna:** Only 399 *tasmārtha eta stovaṃna atra viṣajita uṭa prichamṇaye, yahi eṣa stovaṃna atra eṣati, lekha vacitu, tomi stovaṃnaṣa haste uṭa iṣa prahadavya* 'Therefore this *stovaṃna* has been sent there to demand a camel, when this *stovaṃna* comes there, having read the letter, a camel is to be dispatched in the hand of the *stovaṃna*'. It is either a proper name, or the name of a particular kind of official that might be used for the purpose.
- stri:** Declension of, § 68.
- Spaniyakā:** 661. Iranian name (?), cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 515. (Av. *spanyah-* 'more holy', Pahl. *spēnāk*.)
- ṣpara:** (also *ṣpura*). = 'completely'. More often in the phrase *sarva ṣpara (ṣpura)* 'all complete': 272 *praṭha cavala paruvārṣi ṣuka masu, ima varṣi masu sarva ṣpara saṃgalidavya* 'Forthwith last year's dry grapes (?) and this year's grapes are to be quickly collected all completely'. An Iranian word. Saka *uṣpurra-*, Arm.L.W. *spaṛ*, Pahl. *(u)spurr, (u)spurrik*, N.Pers. *ṣiparī*, cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 787.
- ṣparna:** = *suṭarna*, § 49.
- ṣpaṣa:** 'watch, watching, guard'. Whence *ṣpaṣavaṃna* 'guard, watchman'. Iranian* **spāsa* and **spāsapāna* (cf. Sogd. *sp*'s 'service', N.Pers. *ṣipās* 'thanks', both of which have lost the original meaning). The word is discussed in *B.S.O.S.* VII, 512. Cf. § 49. Cf. further Saka *spaṣaṭa* (H. W. Bailey, *Z.D.M.G.* 1936, p. 576).

spura: Cf. *spara*.

spētha: Cf. *suveṭha* and § 49.

spora: = *spura*, probably to be read so. Cf. *prochidavo* for *pruchidavo*, etc. and § 4.

Syabala: = *Sīhabala*-, § 28.

sruva: 509. Also *surva*, 524. Only in the phrase *rayaka sruva* (*surva*) *tomga*, indicating some kind of employment in the royal service (cf. s.v. *tomga*).

svachamtaḡa: 639. = 'of their own accord' (*sva-chandas*-). The feminine is *svachamdi* at 555.

svachimna: 211. = (?).

svaya: §§ 6, 49, 86.

svasavaṃniye: 471. Cf. *spasavaṃna*.

sve: = *svayam*, §§ 6, 86.

sveta: 72. . . *priya sveta Kaṃcaḡa* . . . seems to indicate some kind of relationship. The same document contains *apru* (see s.v.), which also apparently is a noun of relationship. Neither word appears anywhere else.

H

hačhati: Is used both for *siyati* and *bhaviṣyati*, cf. §§ 4, 99, 100. The optative sense is the more usual. The word = Pkt. *acchai*. The *h*-no doubt is from *huda*, *hodi*, *hotu*, etc. Cf. Prof. R. L. Turner in *B.S.O.S.* VIII, 795 ff.

hargā: = 'tax', or some particular kind of tax. The most usual word for tax is *palpi*. The word is Iranian. The Arm.L.W. *hark* corresponds most closely to it. A different form of the same base is represented by Ar. and N.Pers. *xarāḡ*. For a full discussion, cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 788.

hali: Obscure; only 83 *ma inči eda hali kariṣyasi*.

haṣḡa: Word of uncertain meaning; occurs in the phrase *haṣḡa nikhaleti* (297, 751) 'to remove, take out, a *haṣḡa*'; 297 *haṣḡa nikhaleti, yatha purva dhamā haṣḡa iṣa rayadvarammi ativahidavo* 'He takes out the *haṣḡa* . . . according to the former land the *haṣḡa* is to be sent over here to the king's court'.

In 542 we have *haṣḡadana* in the sentence: *yatha stri Kaciyae prace, haṣḡadana prace edeṣa vaṃti parihaṣamti, eda stri hastagada kareṃti* ' . . . that concerning a woman Kaci, concerning the giving of the *haṣḡa*, they make a claim against (?) him, and take hold of this woman'.

hastama: § 45. = 'dispute'. Same as *vivada*. Iranian word *ha(m)-stamba*-. Cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 788.

hiḡiteya: 399. The reading is not certain, but the context demands something corresponding to Skt. *hṛdaya*; a form *hiḡeya* would perhaps be all right.

hinajhasya: Title of Avijita Siṃha king of Khotan, 661. Iranian **hūnāza* = *στρατήγος*, cf. *B.S.O.S.* VII, 514, and Konow, *Acta Or.* XIV, 231 ff. The word appears as *hūnāysā* in Saka (*B.S.O.S.* VIII, 791).

huḍiyami: §§ 5, 27. From *bhṛti-*. Only 703 *sarira huḍiyami osugā avajidavo* 'Care is to be exercised in the maintenance of your body'.

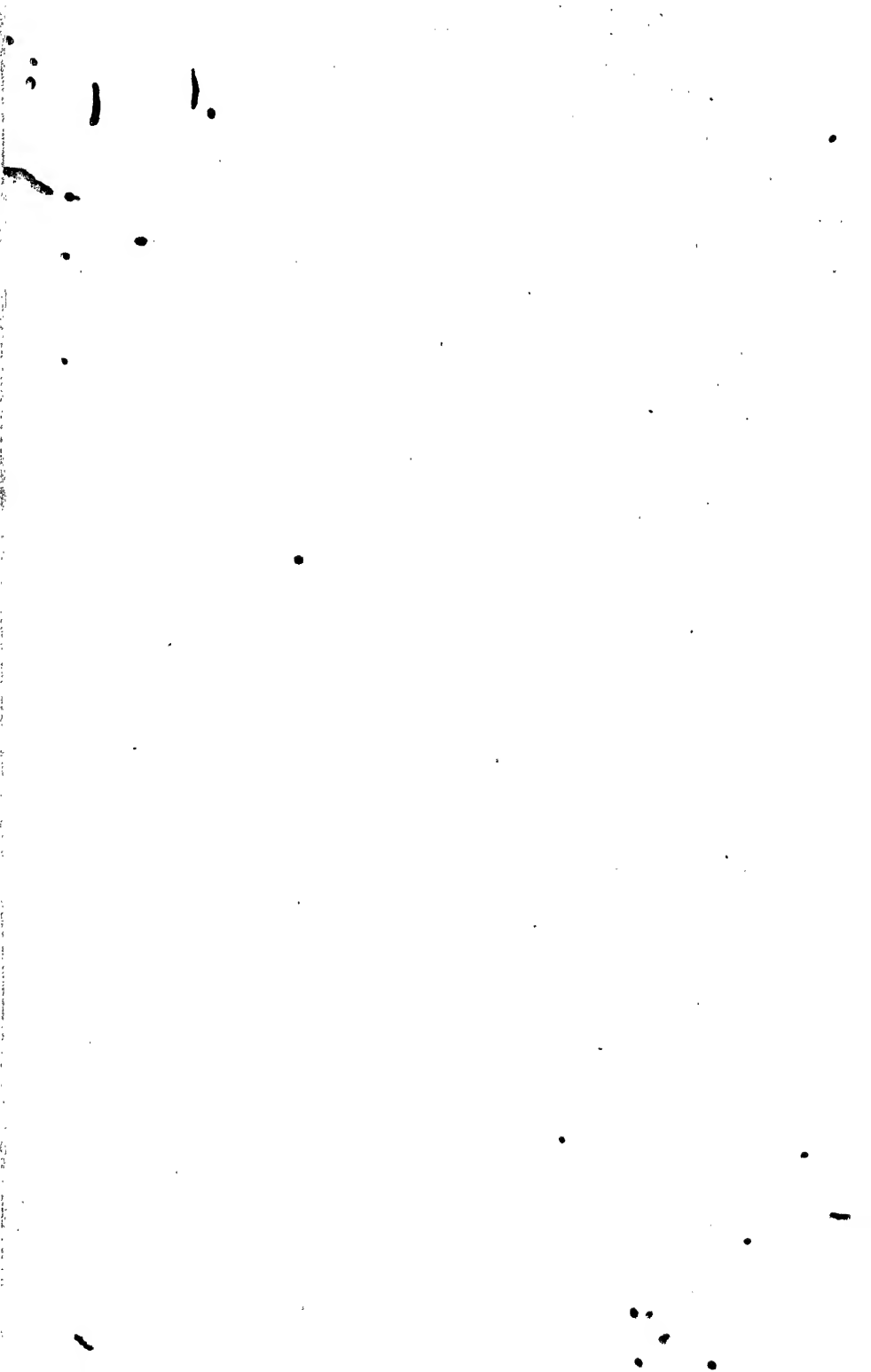
heḍi: § 28. = *edā* 'sheep' (?).

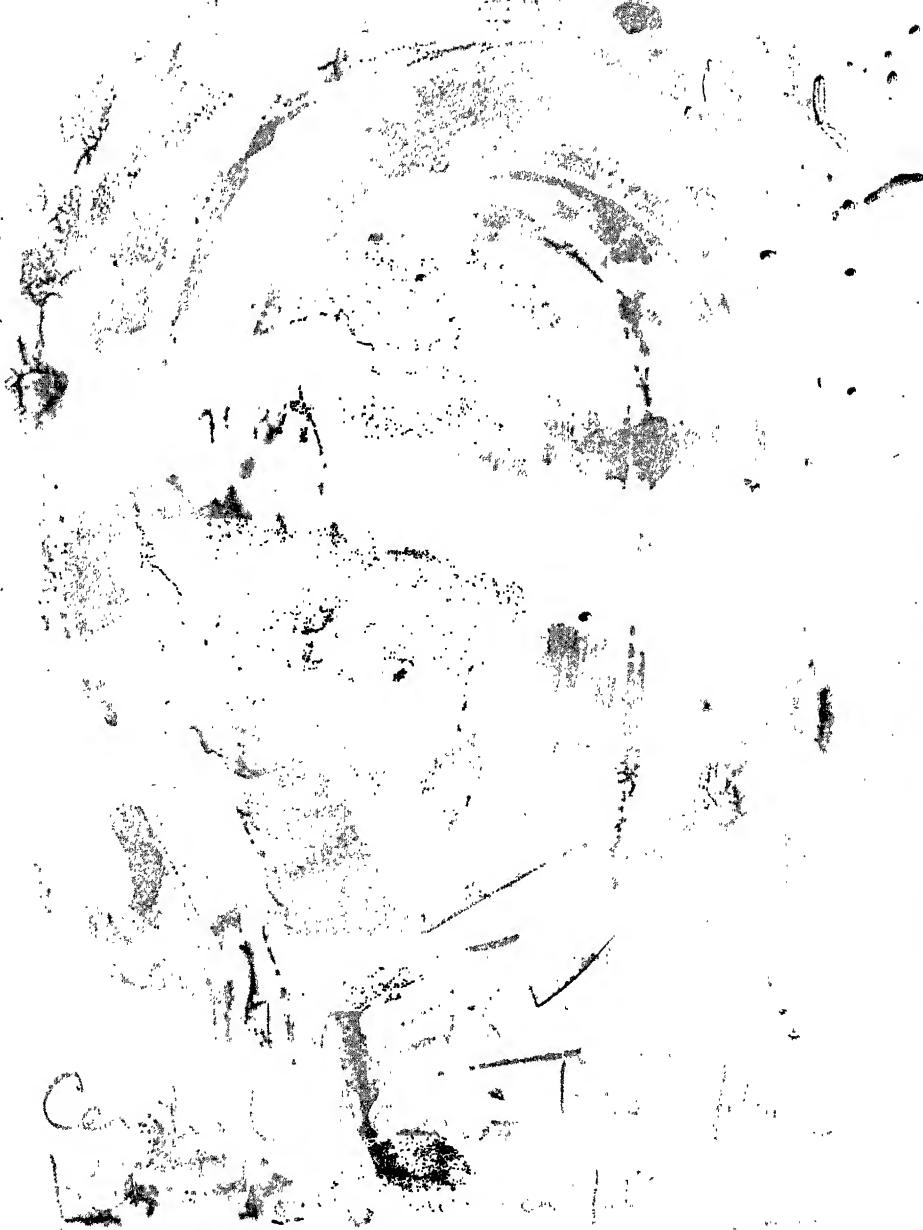
hetuvena: §§ 29, 71.

hoati: § 96.

hotu: § 98.

hora: An alternative reading for *huve* in 100. Both obscure.





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